







TO THE MOST VERTUOUS and learned Lady, my most

Deare and Soueraigne Princessse ELI-

ZABETH, by the Grace of GOD,

Queene of England, Fraunce, and

Ireland: Defendresse of the

Fayth. &c.



*Hereas there was neuer anye thinge hearde of in any age past: hetherunto, so perfectly wrought and framed, eyther by Arte or Nature, but that it hath at some time, for some forged and surmyfed matter, sustayned the reprehension of some enuious persons*

or other: I doe not much meruayle most mighty Pryn-  
cesse that in this your so noble & famous a gouernment,  
(the Glory whereof is now longe sithence scattered and  
spread ouer the whole face of the Earth,) there are not-  
withstanding certayne euill disposed people, so blinded  
with malice, and subdued to their owne parciall Con-  
ceiptes: that as yet they canneyther spare indifferenre  
iudgements to conceyue, or reuerent tongues to reporte  
a known truth, touching the perfection of the same. But  
for these men, as they are (no doubt) sufficiently refuted  
by the testimonies of their owne cōsciences: so are they  
most certainly condemned by the common consent of  
all such, as are wyse or indifferent. And although this be  
of it selfe so cleare and manyfest that it cannot bee deni-  
ed, yet could not I forbear (most renowned soueraigne)  
being as it were inforced, by your Maiesties late & sin-  
gular clemency, in pardoning certayne my vndutifull  
misdemeanour, but seeke to acknowledge your gracious  
goodnesse and bounty towardes me, by exhibiting vnto  
you this small and simple present: wherein as I haue in-

\*\*

denon-

# the Epistle

deuoured in fewe wordes to answer certayne quarells  
and obiections, dayly and ordinarily occurrent in the  
talke of sundry men, so doe I most humbly craue your  
Graces fauourable accepration thereof: protestinge also  
with all humiliry, that my meaninge is not in the dis-  
course of these matters heere disputed, to define ought,  
which may in any wise sounde preiudiciall to any pub-  
licke authority, but only to alleadge such probability as  
I coulde, to stop the mouthes of certayne euill affected  
persons, which of their curiosity require farther satis-  
faction in these matters, then can well stand with good  
modesty. Wherefore as vpon this zeale & good meaning  
towards your estate, I was earnestly moued to vndertake  
this enterpryse, and in the handling thereof rather con-  
tent to shewe my selfe vnkilfull to others, the vnthank-  
full to you: so presuminge of your auncient accustomed  
clemency, I was so bould to comit the same to your gra-  
cious protection, fully perswading and assuring my self,  
that it would generally obtayne the better credit & en-  
tertainment among others, if your Maiesties name were  
prefixed, ad it were a most rich Jewell and rare Ornamēt  
to beautifie and commend the same. God preserue your  
Maiesty with infinit increase of all his blessings bestow-  
ed vpon you, and graunt that your dayes of life here vp-  
on the earth may be extended (if it be his good will) eue  
far beyonde the ordinary course of Nature: that as you  
haue already sufficiētly rayghned for your owne honour  
and glory to last withall posterities: so you may cōtinue  
and remaine with vs many more yeares, even to the full  
contentation (if it may so be) of vs your louing subiects,  
and to the perfect establishing of this flourishing peace &  
tranquillity in your cōmon weale for euer.

Y O U R M A I E S T I E S

most faythfull, and

louing Subiect

W. S.



# A Table of thynges

most notable contained

in this Booke.



That no man is a stranger to the Common

vveale that he is in.

That many heathen gathered a perfect col-

layes of the world.

That every man is to be credited in his owne

arte.

Why the Booke is made by way of dialogue

and the summe of the whole Booke.

That men are not borne to themselves only

The complaint of Inclosures by husbandmen.

The complaint of death of victuall by artificers.

The complaint of the decay of howses by Marchauntes, and of

all other common easements.

That many superfluous charges are layde downe, and yet neuer the

more plenty.

Of death of outward marchaundise.

Of death of all kinde of victuall.

That Inclosures should not be the cause of this death.

That Gentlemen feele most griefe by this death.

The complaint of craftsmen against Gentlemen for taking of fear-

mes.

The craftsmans complaint that hee cannot set men a worke for the

death of victuall.

The Gentlemans complaint how he cannot kepe like countenance

as he was wont to doe.

Why Gentlemen doe geue over their householdes.

Why Gentlemen doe take fearmes to their handes.

A complaint against Sheepe.

The Doctors complaint for men of his sorte.

A complaint against learned men.

Why learning should be like to decay hereafter.

Whether a common vveale may bee well gubned without lea-

ning.

That the learned haue alwaies had the souerainie over the vnlearn-

ed.

Whether a man may be vwise without learning.

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, and that experience

is the father of Wisedome.

The wonderfull gyftes that vve haue by learning.

That there is no faculty but is made more consummate by learning.

How Caesar excelled al other captaynes, by reason of his great lea-

ring ioyned vwith his prouesse.

## The Table

That knowlledge in morall Philosophie is more necessary for a Counsaillour. 9.a

What makes learned men to be so fevv. 9.b

That yonge students be alwayms overhasty in vutering their iudgements. 9.b

That Pythagoras commaunded silence to his disciples for a time. 9.b

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That every state fyndes himselfe griened. 11.a

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That the prince hath most losse by this vniuersall dearth. 11.b

What danger should it be to the Realme if the prince should vwant treasure in time of neede. 11.a

Hovv the Queenes maiestie can not haue treasure vwhen her subiectes haue none. 12.b

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That it is a maruailous dearth that comes in time of plenty. 13.b

The occasion of this dearth is laide to the Gentlemen. 14.a

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The Gentlemen excuse and reasonable offer. 14.a

The Husbandman retusethe and puts over the fault to ironmongers and clothiers. 14.b

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A complaine against the ministers. 18.b

That

The table of  
the secod di-  
alogue.



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- Euery commodity must be so aduanced, as it be not preiudiciall to  
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- No man may abuse his owne things to the preiudice of the com-  
mon vveale. 20.2
- Hovv inclosures might be remedied vvithout coercion of lawes. 20.6
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to be

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 Why Siluer and Gold were coyned. 30.b  
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 FINIS.

The table of  
 the third di-  
 alogue.



A Brieve conceipte touching  
 THE COMMON WEALE  
 OF THIS REALME  
 OF ENGLAND.



CONSIDERING THE diuerse and sundry complaints of our countreimen in these our daies, touching the great alteration of this common wealch, within the compass of these few yeres lately past: I thought good at this time to set downe such probable discourse for the occasion hereof, as I haue hearde oftentimes vitered by men of sounde learnyng and deepe iudgement. And albeit I am not one, to whome the consideration and reformation of the same doth especially belong: yet knowing my selfe to bee a Member of the same Common weale, and to further it by all the wayes that possibly I may: I cannot reckon and account my selfe a meere strainger to this matter, no more than a man that were in a Shippe, which being in daunger of wracke, might say, that, because he is not (percase) the maister or Pilot of the same, the daunger thereof doth pertayne nothing at all to him. Therefore hauinge nowe sufficient leasure from ocher businesse, mee thought, I coulde not apply my study to a better end then to publishe & make relation of such matters as I haue hearde througely disputed herein.

First, what thinges men are most grieved with, than, what should bee the occasion of the same: And that knowne, how such greues may bee taken away, and the state of the Common weale reformed agayne. And albeit yee might well say, that there be men of greater wittes then I that  
 A. haue

# A brieft Conceipt

haue that matter in charge, yet Fooles (as the Prouerbe  
 is) sometimes speake to the purpose: and as many heads,  
 so many wittes, and therefore Princes, though they bee  
 neuer so wyle themselves, (as our most excellent Prynce  
 is) yet the wiser that they be, the moe counsellors they will  
 haue, (as our noble and gracious Queene doth daily make  
 choyse of more) for that, that one cannot perceaue, another  
 doth discouer: the giftes of wits be so diuerse, that some ex-  
 celles in Memory, some in Inuention, some in Iudgement,  
 some at first sight ready, & some after long consideration: &  
 though each of these by them selues do not seuerally make  
 perfit the matter, yet when euery man byngs in his gyfte,  
 a meane witted man may of all these (the best of euery  
 mans deuise being gathered together) make as it were a  
 pleasant and perfect Garlande to adorne and Decke his  
 head with all. Therefore I would not onely haue learned  
 men, whose Iudgements I would wylle to bee cheyfly e-  
 steemed herein, but also Marchaunt men, Husbandmen, &  
 Artificers, which in their callinges are taken wyle, freely  
 suffered, peae, and prouoked to tell their Doubtes in this  
 matter. For some poyntes in their feates, they may dis-  
 close, that the wyldest in a Realme cannot vnsoulde againe.  
 And it is a Maxime, or a thinge receyued as an infallible  
 verity among all men, that euery man is to bee credited in  
 that Arte that hee is most exercised in. For did not Apel-  
 les that excellent Paynter consider, y when hee layde forth  
 his fyne Image of Venus to bee seene of euery man y pass  
 by, to the intent he hearing euery mans iudgement in his  
 owne Arte might alwayes amend that was a myste in his  
 worke, whose Censures hee allowed so longe as they kept  
 them within their owne Faculties, and tooke not vpon  
 them to meddle w an other mans Arte: so percase I may  
 be answered as hee was, yet I refuse not that, if I passe  
 my co-

Of many  
 heads is ga-  
 thered a per-  
 fect counsell.  
 That euery  
 man is to be  
 credited in  
 his owne  
 Arte,



my compasse: but for as much as most of this matter con-  
 taineth Pollicy, or good gouernment of a common weale,  
 beinge a Member of Philosophy moral, wherein I haue  
 somewhat studied, I shall bee so bolde with my countrey-  
 men, who I doubt not will construe euery thinge to the  
 best, as to better my pooze and simple conceipt herein, which  
 I haue gathered out of the talke of diuers and sundry no-  
 table men that I haue hearde reason on this matter: and  
 though I should herein percase moue some thinges that  
 were openlye not to bee touched, as in such cases of dis-  
 ceptacion is requisite, yet hauinge respect to what ende  
 they bee spoken, I trust they can offend no man, for harde  
 were it to heale a soare that a man woulde not haue ope-  
 ned to his Physitian, nor yet a surfet that a man woulde  
 not declare the occasion thereof. Therefore now to goe to  
 the matter, bypon boldnesse of your good acceptation,  
 that kinde of reasoning seemeth to mee best for bouldinge  
 out of the truth, which is used by waye of Dialogues,  
 or colloquyes, where reasons bee made too and froe, as  
 well for the matter intended as agaynst it: I thought best  
 to take that way in the discourse of this matter, which is,  
 first in recounting the common and vniuersall grieues that  
 men complayne on now a dayes: secondly in boulding out  
 the verpe causes and occasions of them: thirdly, and  
 finally in deuisinge of remedies for all the same. Therefore  
 I will declare vnto you what communication a Knight had  
 betweene him & certayne other persons of late about this  
 matter, which because it happened betwene such persons,  
 as were Members of euery state yf finde themselves grie-  
 ued now a dayes, I thoughte it not meete to bee forgotten  
 to lett you vnderstand that yf persons were these. A Knight  
 as I sayde first, a Partchaunt man, a Doctor, a Husband-  
 man, and a Craftes man. And first, the Knight rehearsed yf  
 communication in this manner ensuinge.

Why the  
 Booke is  
 made by  
 way of Dia-  
 logue.

The sume of  
 the whole  
 Booke.

# A brieft Conceipt THE FIRST DIA- LOGVE.

**Knighte.**



After I and my Fellowes the Iustices of peace of this Comminalty had the other day declared the Quenes highnes commission touching diuers matters, & geuen the charge to the enquest: I being both weary of the heate of the people & noyse of the same, thought to steale to a friendes house of myne in the towne which selles Wyne, to the intent to eate a morsell of meate, for I was then fasting, taking with me an honest husbandman, whom for his honest and good discretion I loued very well: whither, as we were comine & had but skant sit downe in a close Parloure, there comes me in a Marchaunte man of that city, a man of estimation and substance, and requires the sayde Husbandman to goe and dyne with him, nay (quoth I) hee wil not I trust now forsake my company, though he should fare better with you.

**Marchaunt.**

Then (quoth the marchaunt man) I will send home for a patty of Tension that I haue there, & for a friend of mine and a neighbor that I had bid to dinner, and wee shalbe so bolde as to make merry withall beere in your company, & as for my guest hee is no straunger vnto you neyther. And therefore both he of yours, & you of his company, I trust wilbe the gladder.

**Knight  
Marchaunt.  
Knight.**

**Who is it.**

**Doctor Pandocheus.**

Is he so, on my fayth he shalbe hartely welcome, for of him we shal haue some good communication and wise, for he is noted a learned and a wise man. And immediately the Marchaunt sendes for him, and he comes vnto vs, & byn-  
geth



geth wyth him an honest man a Capper of the same towne who came to speake with the sayd Marchaunt: than after salutations had (as yee knowe the maner is) betweene me and maister Doctor, and renewinge olde acquayntaunce which had bene longe before betweene vs, we sat all downe, and when we had eate somewhat to satisfie the sharpnesse of our stomackes,

On my fayth (quoth the Doctor) to me, yee make much Doctor. a doe, you that be Justices of the peace of euerie Countrey, in sitting vpon Commissions almost weekly, and in causinge poore men to appear before you and leauinge theyr husbandry vnlooke to at home.

Surely it is so. Yet the prince must be serued and the commonweale, for God and y prince haue not sent vs the poore lyuinges that we haue, but to doe seruice therefore abrode amonges our Neighbourours.

It is well if yee take it so, for nature hath grafted that perswasion in you and all other that followes the cleare light of Nature. As learned men haue remembred, saying, Plato. we be not borne onely to our selues, but partely to the vse of our Countrey, of our Parentes, of our Kinsfolkes, and partly of our Friendes and Neighbourours, and therefore all good vertues are grafted in vs naturally, whose effects he to doe good to other, wherein we shew forth y Image of God and man, whose property is euer to doe good to other, and to distribute his goodnesse abrode lyke no Mygarde, nor enuyous of any. Other creatures as they resemble nothing of that godly Image, so they study no common utility of other, but onely the conseruation of them selues and propagation of their owne kynde. Wherefore, if we looke to be reckned most vnylike them being most byle, and lykett to God being most excellent, let vs study to doe good to other, not preferring the ease of this Carcasse which is like the brute beastes, but rather the vertues of y minde wherein we be lyke God him selfe.

That men are not borne to them selues onely.

# A brieft Concept

Husband

Then (sayd þ Husbandman) for all your paynes (meaning by me) & all oures also, I would yee had neuer worse Commissions in hand then this is. So wee had lost more dayes workes at our Husbandry then this.

Knight.

Why so?

Husband

Complaynt of  
Inclosures by  
Husbandmen

Mary for these Inclosures doe vndoe vs all, for they make vs to pay dearer for our lande that we occupy, & causes that we can haue no lande in manner for our money to put to Tyllage, all is taken vp for Pasture: for Pasture eyther for Sheepe, or for Grasinge of Cattell, in so much that I haue knowne of late a dozen ploughes within lesse compasse then sixe Hyles about mee, layde downe within this seuē yeares: and where threē score persons or vppward had their liuings, now one man with his Cattell hath all, which thinge is not the least cause of former vpproes: for by these Inclosures many doe lacke lyuings and be pole, & therefore for very necessity they are desirous of a chaunge, beinge in hope to come thereby to somewhat, and well assured that howe so euer it befall with them, it can bee no harder with them than it was before: more ouer all thinges are so deere that by their day wages they are not able to lyue.

Capper.

Complaynt of  
dearth of vit-  
tayle by Arti-  
ficers.

I haue well þ experience thereof, for I am fayne to geue my Iourneimen two pence in a day more than I was wont to doe, and yet they say they cannot sufficiently liue thereon. And I know for truth, that the best husbände of them can saue but litle at the yeares end, and by reason of such dearth as yee speake of, wee that are Artificers, are able to keepe but fewe or no Apprentizes like as wee were wont to doe, and therefore Cities which were heretofore well inhabited and wealthy, (as yee know euery one of you) are now for lacke of occupiers fallen to great pouerty and desolation.

Marchaunt

So bee the most part of all þ townes of England, London one.



don onely except, and not onely the good towne are soze de-  
 rayed in there Howses, Walles, Streates, and other buil-  
 dinges, but also the countrey in their high wayes & Bryd-  
 ges: for such pouerty rayneth euery where, that few men  
 haue so much to spare as they may geue any thing to the re-  
 paration of such wayes, brydges, and other common ease-  
 ments: and albeit there bee many thinges layde downe now  
 which befoze time were occasions of much expences: as  
 Maygames, Wakes, Reuels, wagers at shooting, wrest-  
 ling, running, and throwing the stone, or barre, & besides  
 that, Pardons, Pylgrimages, Tfrings, and many such o-  
 ther thinges, yet I perceyue wee bee neuer the wealthyer  
 but rather poozer: whercof it is longe I cannot well tell,  
 for there is such a generall dearth of all thinges as befoze .xx.  
 or .xxx. yeares hath not bene the like, not onely of thinges  
 growinge within this Realme, but also of all other Mar-  
 chaundize that wee buy from beyond the Sea, as Sylkes,  
 Wynes, Oyles, Woode, Hadder, Iron, Steele, Ware,  
 Flaxe, Linnen cloth, Fustians, Woostredes, Couerlets,  
 Carpets, and all Hearles, & Tapestry: Sppres of all sort  
 and al Haberdasher ware, as Paper both white & browne,  
 Glasses aswell drinckinge, and looking as for glasinge of  
 Windowes: Pinnes, Needles, Kniues, Daggers, Hats,  
 Cappes, Broches, Buttons, and Laces. I wot well all  
 these doe cost nowe, moze by the thyrde parte than they  
 did but fewe yeares agoe: than all kinde of Victayle are  
 as deere or dearer agayne, & no cause of Gods parte there-  
 of as farre as I can perceaue, for I neuer sawe moze plen-  
 ty of Corne, grasse, and Cattell of all sortes than wee haue  
 at this present, and haue had (as yee know) all these twenty  
 yeares passed continually, thanked bee our Lorde God: if  
 these Inclosures were cause thereof, or any other thinge  
 els, it were pity but they might be remooued.

Complaynt of  
 towres by  
 Marchauntes  
 & of all other  
 comon ease-  
 ments.

Many superflu-  
 ous charges  
 layde downe  
 and yet neuer  
 the more plen-  
 ty.

Dearth of out-  
 vuarde Mar-  
 chaundize.

Dearth of all  
 kinde of vit-  
 tayle.

¶ Synte yee haue plenty of all thinges, of Corne, & Cat- Knightes,  
 tell, as

## A brieft Conceipt

That inclo-  
res be not the  
cause of this  
dearth.

That Gentle-  
me feele most  
griefe by this  
dearth.

Husband

The cōplaynt  
of craftes men  
against Gentle-  
men for taking  
of Farnes.

tell, (as yee say) that it should not seeme this dearth should be longe of these Inclosures, for it is not for scarcenesse of Corne y<sup>e</sup> yee haue this dearth (for thanked bee God) Corne is good cheape, and so hath bene these many yeares past continually. Than it cannot bee the occasion of the dearth of Cattell, for Inclosure is the thing that nourisheth most of any other: yet I confesse there is a wonderfull dearth of all thinges, and that do I, and all men of my sorte feele most greife in, which haue no way to sell, or occupation to lyue by, but onely our landes. For you all thre (I meane) you my neyghbour the husbandman, you maister Mercer, and you Goodman Capper, w<sup>th</sup> other Artificers may saue your selues meetely well. Forasmuch as all thinges are dearer then they were, so much doe you arple in the pryce of your wares and occupations that yee sell agayne. But we haue nothing to sell whereby we might aduaunce y<sup>e</sup> pryce thereof, to counterualue those thinges that we must buy agayne.

Yes, yee rayse the pryce of your Landes, and yee take Fermes also and pastures to your hāds, (which was wōt to bee poore men's lyuings such as I am) and haue geuen ouer to liue onely vpon your Landes.

On my soule yee say truth (quoth the Marchaunte) and the Capper also sayd no lesse, adding thereto that it was neuer merry with poore Craftes men, since Gentlemen became Grassiers, for they cannot now a dayes (sayde he) finde they<sup>r</sup> Apprentizes and seruantes meate and drynke, but it cost them almost double as much as did before time, wherefore, where many of myne occupation and other like, heretofore haue dyed ryche men, and bene able to leaue honestly behynde them for they<sup>r</sup> Wyfe and Children, and besides y<sup>e</sup> leaue some notable bequestes for some good deede, as to y<sup>e</sup> making of Byddges, & repaying of high wayes, all which thinges goe to wracke now euery where. Also some were wont to buy Land eyther for to helpe the poore beginners  
of De-



of th'occupations yea, some time they had such superfluity  
as they could ouer such bequestes leaue an other Portion  
to funde a Wyffe, or to founde a Chauntry in some parische  
Church, and now we are skant able to liue without tebe,  
or to keepe few seruantes or none, except is bo one Wyffe  
or two And therefore the Journeyemen what of our occu-  
pations, and what of Clothyers, and all other occupat-  
ions being forced to be without worke, are by most parte of  
these ryde people that maketh these Oppressors abode, to the  
great disquiet not onely of the Queenes highnes but al-  
so of her people. And neede (as yee knowe) hath no hosty.

The craftes-  
mans cōplayn  
that he cannot  
set me a vweek  
for the Dearth  
of vntayle.

Marchant.

It is true, yee knowe likewise what other notable acts  
men of myne occupation haue done in this City. Before  
this yee knowe the hospitall at the townes ende, wherein  
the freemen detained are releaued, how it was founded not  
longe agoe by one of our occupation, supposing therby  
the city should be much releaued, which then was in some  
decay, and yet it decayeth still every day more and more,  
whereof it should be longe, I cannot well tell.

Say, as I knowe it is true that yee complayne not w-  
out cause, so it is as true that I and my sorte, I meane all  
Gentlemen haue as greate yea and farre greater cause to  
complayne then any of you haue, (for as I sayd) nowe that  
the pryces of thinges are so ryse of all handes, you may  
better lyue after your degree then wee, for you may and do  
rayse the pryce of your wares, as the pilles of vittayles, &  
other your necessities doe ryse, and so cannot we so much,  
for though it bee true that of such landes as come to our  
handes, eyther by purchase, or by determination and end-  
ing of such termes of yeaues, or other Estates, that I or  
mine aūcestors had graūted thē in time past. I doe eyther  
receyue a better fine than of olde was bled, or enhaunse the  
rent thereof, being forced thereto for þ charge of my hous-  
holde that is so encreased ouer that it was, yet in all my  
lyfe

Knight.

The Gentle-  
mans cōplaynt  
how he can-  
not keepe lyke  
countenaunce  
as he vvas  
vront to doe-

# A briefe Conceipte

Why Gentle-  
men doe geue  
ouer their  
householdes.

Why Gentle-  
men doth take  
Farmes into  
their handes.

Complaint a-  
gainst sheepe

Doctor.

life time I tooke not that the chyldre parte of my lanbe shall come to my disposition, that I may enhaunce the rent of the same, but it shall be in mens holding either by leases or by cōpy graunted before my time, and still continuing, and yet like to continue in the same state for the most part during my life, and percase my Sonnes: so as we cannot rayse all our wares as you may yours, and as me thynketh it were reason we did, and by reason that we cannot, so many of vs (as yee know) that haue departed out of þe countrey of late, haue bene tyen to giue ouer our househoulds, and to keepe either a chamber in London, or to wayte on the Court vntilled with a man and a Lackey after him, where he was wonte to keepe halfe a score of cleane men in his house, and xx. or xxiii. other persons besides euery day in the weeke, and such of vs as doe abide in the countrey still, cannot with two hundredth li. a yere, keepe that house þe we might haue don with C. markes but xvi. yeres past. And therefore we are forced either to minishe the thirde part of our househoulde, or to raise the thirde part of our reuenues, and for that wee cannot so doe of our owne landes that is allreadye in the hands of other men, many of vs are enforced either to keepe pecces of our owne Landes when they fall in our owne possession, or to purchase some Farme of other mens landes and to stoe it with sheepe or some other cattell to help to make vp the decay of our reuenues and to maintayne our olde estate with all, and yet all is litle ynough.

Husband. Yea, those sheepe is the cause of all these mischeries for they haue driuen husbandry out of the countrey, by þe which was increased before all kinde of victuals, & now all rogeth the sheepe, sheepe, sheepe. It was farre better when there were not onely sheepe ynough, but also Oxen, Kine, Swyn, Pig, Goose, & Capon, Egges, Butter & Cheese: yea, and breade Corne, and Walte corne ynough besides, reared all together vpon the same lande.

Then the Doctor þe had leane on his Elbowe all this while



while musing, say by and sayd I perceave by you all thre,  
that there is none of you but haue iust cause to complaine.

No by my troth except it be you, men of þ church, which Capper.  
trauaile nothing for your lyuinge and yet haue inough.

Yee say troth in dede, we haue least cause to cōplaine: Doctor.  
yet yee know well, we be not so plētious as we haue bene,  
the first fruits & tenthes are deducted of our liuinge, yet of  
the rest we might liue well ynough, if we might haue qui-  
etnes of minde & conscience withall. And albeit we labour  
not much with our bodys (as yee say) yet yee know we la-  
bour w our mindes, more to þ weakning of þ same, then by  
any other bodily exercise we should do, as we may well per-  
ceue by our cōplexions, how wan our colour is, how faint  
and sickely be our bodyes, & all for lacke of bodily exercise.

The Doctors  
complaynt for  
men of his  
calling.

May I woulde if I were of þ Queenes counsell, pro-  
uide for you well a fine, so as you should neede take no di-  
sease for lacke of exercise, I woulde set you to the Plough  
and Carte, for the deuill a whit of good yee doe wih your  
studies, but set me together by the Cares, some with this  
opinion & some with that, some holding this way, & some  
an other, and þ so stiffly as though the troth must be as they  
say that haue þ vpper hand in cōtention & this contention  
is not also þ least cause of former vyces of þ people, some  
holding of þ one learning & some of þ other. In my minde  
it made no matter though we had no learned men at all.

Capper.  
Complaynt ar-  
gainst learned  
men.

God forbid neighbour that it should be so: how should  
the Prynce haue cōsailers then: how should we haue chri-  
stian religion taught vs: how shoul we know þ estatys of  
other realmes & haue cōferenc w them of al cōtryes, ex-  
cept it were through learning, & by þ benefic of Letters.

Knight.

Are not therefore good mā capper, yee shall haue few  
nough of learned men w in a while, if this world hold on.

Doctor.

I meane not but I woulde haue men to learne to wryt &  
read yea & to learne þ languages vñ w cōtreies about vs  
þ we might wryte our mindes to thē & they to vs, yea and þ

Capper.

# A brieft Conceipte

wee might reade þ holp scriptures in our mother tongue,  
as for your preaching (except yee agree better) it made  
no matter howe litle wee had of it, for of dyuersity there  
of cometh these diuersities of opinions.

Doctor.

Why learning  
should be like  
to decay hee  
after.

Then yee care for no other sciences at all, but the know-  
ledge of tongues, and to wyte & reade, and so it appeares  
well that yee be not alone of that mynde, for nowe it dares  
when men sendes their sonnes to þ Universities they suf-  
fer the no longer to tary there, the they may haue a litle of  
the latin tongue, & then they take them away & bestow the  
to be Clarkes with some man of Lawe, or some Auditor,  
and Receiver, or to be a Sectary with some great man  
or other, and so to come to a bysing whereby the Uniuer-  
sities be in maner emptied, and as I thinke will be occa-  
sion that this Realme within a shorte space will be made  
as empty of wise and pollicique men, and consequently bar-  
barous, and at the last shall and subiect to other Nations  
whereof wee were Lordes before.

Knight.

God forbid that we that bee Gentlemen should not  
with our pollicy in warre provide that we come not in sub-  
jection of any other nation, and the stoutnesse of Englyshe  
heartes will neuer suffer that, though there were no lear-  
ned men in the Realme at all.

Doctor.

Whether a co-  
mon vveale  
may be vvell  
gouerned  
withour lear-  
ning.

Well, an empyre or a Kingdome is not so muche won,  
or kept by the manhode and force of men, as it is by wyse-  
dome and policy, which is gotten chiefly by learning. For  
wee see in all kindes of gouernaunce for the most parte, the  
wyser sorte haue the soueraynty ouer the rude & unlear-  
ned, as in every house the most experyence & wyldest  
& most sage, and in every common weale the most learn-  
ed and most commonly placed to gouerne the rest, yea, be-  
mong all nations of the worlde they that be pollicique and  
ciuile doe mayster the rest, though the be by force be inferiour  
to the other. The Emperours of the Grecke & Romanes



doe declare that, among whom like as learning and wisdom was most esteemed, so the Emperors were spread widest and longest did continue of all other. And why should you thinke it straining that you might more be vanquished than the other were before time that reckoned themselves as stout men as you be, yea dwellers of this realme, as the Saxons last were by the Normands, and the Romaines by the Saxons afore that, & the Byrrons by the Romaines first of all.

That the learned haue alway the souerainty ouer the vnlearned.

There may bee wyle men enough though they bee not learned. I haue knowne diuerse men very wise & politique that know neuer a letter on the booke, and contrary wise as many other learned men that haue bene very Idiots in manner for any worldly pollicy that they had.

Knighte.

I deny not that, but I say that if such wylsam as you speake of had learninge to their wits, they had bene more excellent. And the other that you call so simple had bene foolishly if they had had no learninge at all. Exercyse in warres maketh not every man meete to be a Capayne, though hee is a simple man it neuer so longe, nor there is no other so apt for the warre but with experience and wile he is made more perfect, for what maketh him more wile than the younger sorte, but their greater experience.

Doctor.

Whether a man may be wylle without learning.

I say experience helpeth much the wit of man. I will offer you what both learninge the wit doth, and what experience doth help, then I doubt not but you will graunt mee anon that learninge doth also help much to the increase of wiledome: let me then beseech you for a further ground, what experience doth further wiledome, let me take it as it were of father, of husband, of master, of brother, of mother, of friend, of neighbor, of any other as experience doth beget wiledome as a father, so memory nourisheth it as a mother, for in baine should experience be had if it were not kept in remembrance. Then if I can shew you that both experience

Knighte.

Doctor.

That learning supplieth the lacke of experience, & that experience is the father of Wylsedome.

## A briefe Conceipt

science and also memory are holpen and furthered by learninge, then yee must needs graunt me that learning furthereth wit and increaseth it; yee confesse the experience of an olde man maketh him wiser than the younge, because hee sawe mo things then the other. But an olde man seeth but onely things of his owne time, & the learned man seeth not onely his owne times experience, but also that befell in a great many of his auncestors, yea since the worlde began. Therefore he must needs haue more experience then the vnlearned man; of what great age so euer he be, the so many cases as he seeth in all that time to haue happened coulde not so well be remembred of any man, as it is kept in memory by wytyngs, and then if the vnlearned man once forget the thinge hee sawe, hee neuer lightly remembers it againe, where as y learned man hath his booke alwayes to call him to remembraunce of that hee should els forget. Therefore as he that liueth a hundreth yeres must needs haue more experience then hee that liueth fiftie, so hee that seeth the chaunces of the worlde as it were in a table paynted afore him of a thousand yeres, must needs haue greater experience then he that liueth but a hundreth. Also he that trauaileth many farre Countreys hath more experience than other of like age that neuer goeth out of his native countrey. So he that is learned seeth by Cosmography, hystories, and other learnings, the right maner & vsage of euery countrey in the worlde, yea of many more then is possible for one man to trauaile through, and of these y he trauaileth much better doth he learne there by small taryng, then the other (by longer experience) that are all together and wholly vnlearned, and consequently more wit, being in capacity and memory both els equiualent, & now I am forced to consider the maruailous gyftes that we haue by learning, that is, how learning supplyeth vnto man



to man the greatest lack & some Writers haue complained  
 of to be in man kinde, that is the breuity of Age, the grosse-  
 nesse & waygot of body; where in the first, diuerse beastes full gyftes that  
 as Partes and many other, and in the last all Byrdes doe we haue by  
 excell man, for where it is deemed man to liue aboute a hū learning.  
 dyeth pearces or theare aboutes: by the benefite of learning  
 he hath the commoditie of the life of a thousand pearces,  
 yea two or thre thousandes, by reason hee seeth & euents  
 and occurrens of all that time by Bookes. And if he should  
 haue liued him selfe by all that space, then coulde he haue  
 had nothinge els to his commoditie but that experience of  
 things, the rest had bene but trauayle: which experience he  
 hath nowe by letters and without any trauayle in manner  
 at all, and without the daungers that he might him selfe  
 haue bene in, if hee had liued by all that space. As to the o-  
 ther poynte that wee be not so agill and light as fowles &  
 Byrdes of the Ayre bee, as that wee might sturre from one  
 place to an other, wee haue the commoditie through lear-  
 ning that wee should purchase by such peregrinations, as  
 well as we should if wee might flee from one Countrey  
 to an other like Byrdes, and yet with lesse trauayle and  
 daunger. May wee not through Cosmography see the si-  
 tuation, temperature, and qualities of euery Countrey in  
 the Worlde, yea, better and with lesse trauayle then if wee  
 might flee ouer them our selues: for that, that many other  
 haue learned through their great trauayles, & daungers,  
 they haue left to vs to be learned with ease & pleasure. Can  
 wee non allso throughe the science of Astronomy knowe  
 the course of the Planettes about, and theyre coniunctions  
 and Aspectes as certaynely as if wee were amonge them:  
 yes surely that wee may, for tell mee: how came all þe learn-  
 men beare to fore to the exacte and perfic knowledge there-  
 of: came they not to it by cōferences marking of circumstan-  
 ces (yes in dedde) so þe out of their writings we learned it:

and so

and to the knowledge wherof by sight onely we coulde  
 knowe, and that which we were as ignorant as any by  
 That there is no faculty but is made more perfect by learning.

Knight.

Doctor.

Howe Cesar  
 excelled all o-  
 ther captaines  
 by reason of  
 his great lear-  
 ning ioyned  
 with his pro-  
 wesse.

What is there els profitable of learning for the continued  
 of mans life here in earth; but in learning it is taughte  
 much a perfecter and more compleate then any man can learne  
 onely by experience all dayes of his life; no not so much as  
 your selfe in this re, sir Knight, no nor your selfe good  
 husbandman, but that either of them are so perfectly taught  
 and so forth in learning as that we be not so perfectly taught  
 yet be not so perfect in the said sciences but might learne  
 many more things than ever we saw before, by experience  
 in either of them, as you sir Knight in your selfe, and your  
 good husbandman in your selfe, and your selfe in your selfe  
 in your selfe, might we not have that in our English  
 tongue, and we should be much better, though we never went to school  
 & we well enough, and yet should be farre from the  
 perfect understanding of them, except we had the help of o-  
 ther sciences, that is to say, of Arithmetique in disposing  
 and ordering your men, and Geometry in devising of En-  
 gines to winne Townes, and Fortresses, & of Byddes  
 to passe over, in the which Cesar excelled other by reason  
 of the learning that hee had in those sciences, and did won-  
 derfull feates which an unlearned man coulde never haue  
 done, and if we had warre over the Sea, howe coulde we  
 knowe towards what Coastes we be Sea byuen, without  
 knowledge of the latitude of the place by the Poale, and the  
 length by other starres, and you good husband, for the per-  
 fection of the knowledge of husbandry, had neede of some  
 knowledge in Astronomy, as under what aspect of y<sup>e</sup> Pla-  
 nets and in the entry of what signe, by the Sunne & Moone  
 it is time to Sowe, to Dresse, to Sow, to Reape, to Set,  
 to Graffe, to Cut your Wood, your Timber: yea, to haue  
 some iudgment of the Weather that is like to come for  
 Inning of your Corney, and Graffe, and houseinge of your  
 Cattell



Cattell: yea, of some part of Philosophie called Veterinaria, whereby yee might knowe the diseases of your Beastes, & heale the. Then, for true measuringe of lande, had yee not neede of some knowledge in Geometry to bee a perfect husband. Then for building, what Carpenter, or Mason is so cunning or expert, but hee might learne more by readinge of Vitruvius and other wyters of Architecture, that is to say, the science of building, and to passe ouer þ sciences of Logicke & Retorique, whereof þ first trauayleth about þ discursio of the true reason from þ false, the other aboute þ perswasion of þ is to be set forth to the people, as a thinge to them profitable and expedient, whereof a good and perfect counsaylor might want neyther: well, tell mee what counsaylor can bee perfect, what common weale can bee well ordered by righte, where none of the Rulers or Counsaylors haue studied any Philosophy, specially the parte that teacheth of manners, (the other part of Philosophy I passe ouer now, which teacheth of natures and is called physicke.) what part of the common weale is neglected by Philosophy morall: doth it not teache first how euery man shoulde gouerne him selfe honestly. Secondly how he shoulde guide his family wisely and profitably. And thirdly, it sheweth how a Citty or a Realme, or any other comon weale shoulde bee well ordered and gouerned, both in time of peace, and also warre. What common weale can bee without either a Gouerner, or Counsaylors that shoulde bee expert in this kinde of learning, this confirmeth the poynt that we now talke of: men experte in this Science were consulted and followed, the common weale shoulde bee ordered as fewe shoulde haue cause to complayne: therefore sayd Plato that diuine Philosopher, that happy is that Commonweale where either þ Prince is a Philosopher, or where a Philosopher is the Prince.

That know-  
ledge in moral  
philosophy is  
most necessary  
for Counsa-  
lor.

Plato.

Knight.

I had weened before that there had bene no other lear-  
ninge

## A brieft Concept

ninge in the world, but that these men had that be Doctors of Diuinity, or of the Lawe, or of Physicke: wherof the first had all his cunning in Preaching, the second in matters of the spirituall lawe, and the third in physicke & in looking on diseased mens water, may yee tell me now of many other sciences very necessary for euery cominō weale, which I neuer heard of before: but eyther there be fewe of these Doctors that can skill of them, or els they disclose but litle of their cunning.

Doctor.

What maketh  
learned men to  
be so feyre.

Younge studi-  
ents bee all-  
vvaies ouer  
hasty in vtter-  
ing their iudg-  
ments.

Pythagoras com-  
manded silēce  
to his disciples  
for a time.

Of truth there be to fewe of them that can skill of these sciences now a dayes, and of those there be too fewe of them that are esteemed any thing the more for their knowledge therein, or called for to any counsell. And therefore others seeing these Sciences nothing esteemed or set by, they fall to those sciences that they see in some pyre, as to Diuinity, to the Lawe, and to Physicke: though they cannot bee perfit in any of these without the knowledge of the sciences aboue touched, and therefore it is ordayned by Uniuersities, that first men should bee Bachelers and Masters of Artes, ere they should come to Diuinity: and these Artes bee the seuen liberall sciences, as Grammer, Logique, Rhetorique, Arithmetique, Geometry, Musicke, and Astronomy, and now they skip ouer them and fall to Diuinity by and by, before they haue gotten or purchased them any iudgment throughe the foresayd sciences, which maketh the to fall to these diuersities of Opinions that ye speake of: for all beginners in euery science be very quicke and ouerhasty in geuing their iudgment of thinges, (as experience teacheth euery man) & then, when they haue once vttered their iudgements & opinions, they will see nothing that will soune cōtrary to the same, but eyther they will cōstrue it to their owne phātasie, or betterly deny it to be of any authority. Pythagoras, to his scholars y came to learne his prophane sciences commaunded silēce for seuen yeaeres, that by all y space they should be hearers onely, and no reasoners: and  
in this



in this Diuine science euery Roie that hath not red scrip-  
ture past halfe a yere, shalbe suffered not onely to reason  
and enquire of things (for that were tollerable) but to af-  
firme newe and straunge interpretations vpon the same  
neuer heard of before. What ende of Opinions can there  
bee while this is suffered. Also Plato forbade any man to  
come to his schoole that was ignorant in Geometry: and  
to this highe schoole of Diuinity he that knoweth not his  
Grammer, much lesse any other science shall be admitted  
at the first, I say not to learne, for that might bee suffered,  
but to iudge: and there cometh in the thinge that the  
same Plato sayeth to bee an onely cause sufficient to ouer-  
throwe a whole Common weale where it is vsed, that is,  
when they take on them the iudgment of things to whom  
it doth not appertayne, as youth of thinges belonginge to  
olde men, children ouer their fathers, seruants ouer their  
maisters, and priuate men ouer their Maiestates: what  
Ship can bee longe safe from wracke where euery man  
will take vpon him to bee a Pilate: what house well go-  
uerned, where euery seruant will bee a maister and a tea-  
cher. I speake thus much of the commendation of learn-  
ing, not onely because I heard my freind heere (the Cap-  
per) set litle by learninge, but also that I see many nowe a  
dayes of his opinion, which care nothinge for any other  
knowledge, but onely that they may wyte and reade, and  
learne þe tongues: whom I can resemble well to those men  
that esteemeth more the Barke then the Tree, the Shale  
more then the Rymell: wherefore they seeme to take the  
bryght Sunne from þe Earth, that would take away lear-  
ning from vs: for the same is no more necessary for the in-  
crease of all thinges on earth, then is learninge for the in-  
crease of Ciuility, Wisedome, and Policy amonge men.  
And as much as reasonable men doe excell all other crea-  
tures by þe gyfte of Reason, so much excelleth a learned man

Plato comma-  
ded that no  
man ignorant  
in Geometry  
should enter  
his schoole.

What harme  
may come if  
they bee suffe-  
red to iudge in  
things to Whō  
it doth not  
appertayne.

That it is not  
learninge suffi-  
cient, to knowe  
the tongues, &  
to vvyte.

# A brieft Conceipt

any other through the polishing and adorning of Reason by these Sciences.

**Knight.**

Of my fayth I am glad it was my chaunce to haue you in my company at this time, for of a wise man, a man may alwayes learne. But mee thought yee sayde lately to my neighbour the Capper, that wee should haue learned men few ynough within a while if  $\text{h}$  world did continue. What ment yee thereby, and what should be  $\text{h}$  cause thereof.

**Doctor.**

Why learning  
should decay.

I shewed you all ready one great cause of the same: that was, where I shewed you that most men were of that opinion, that they thought learning ynough to write & reade. another cause is  $\text{h}$  they see no preferment ordered for learned men, nor yet any honour or estimation geuen them like as hath bene in time past. But rather the contrary,  $\text{h}$  more learned, the more troubles, losses, & vexations they come vnto.

**Knight.**

God forbid. How so?

**Doctor.**

Mary haue you not seene how many learned men haue bene put to trouble of late within this xx. or xxx. yeares, & all for declaring their opinions in thinges that haue rylen in controuersie: haue you not knowne when one Opinion hath bene set forth, and who so euer sayd against that, were put to trouble: and shortly after, when the contrary opinion was furthered and set forth, were not the other  $\text{h}$  prospered before put to trouble for saying their mindes against this latter opinion: & so neither of both parties escaped but eyther first or last hee came to bee hit, of whether side so euer hee were, except it were some weatherwise fellowes, that coulde chaunge their opinions as  $\text{h}$  more & stronger part did chaunge theirs: and what were they that came to these troubles, the singularest fellowes of both parties: for there came no other to the concertacion of these thinges, but such, who seeing in steede of honour, and preferment, dishonour, and hinderance, recompensed for a reward of learning.



learning. will anyeicher put his childe to that science that may bying him no better fruite than this? or what scholer shall haue any courrage to study to come to that ende? the rarity of scholers, and solitute of the Uniuersities doe declare this to be truer then any man w<sup>th</sup> speach can declare.

Then I perceauē euery man findeth himselfe greued at this time, & no man goeth cleare, as farre as I can perceauē. The Gentleman that hee cannot lyue on his Landes onely as his father did before: the Artificers cannot set so many a worke by reason all maner of victayle is so deere: the Husbandman by reason his Lande is deerer rented then before: then we that bee Merchants pay much deerer for euery thing that commeth ouer sea: which great derty (I speake in cōparison of former times) hath bene alwayes in a maner at a stay euer after that basenesse of our English Coyne, which happened in the later yeares of Kyng Henry the eyght.

I doubt not but if any sorte of men haue licked themselves whole, yee bee the same: for what oddes so euer there happen to bee in exchaunge of thinges, yee that bee Merchants can espy it straight: for example, because yee touched somewhat of y<sup>e</sup> Coyne, as soone as euer yee perceiue the price of that enhaunsed, yec by and by, what was to bee wonne therein beyonde sea, raked all the olde Coyne for y<sup>e</sup> most parte in the Realme, and founde the meanes to haue it carped ouer, so as litle was lefte beehinde within this Realme of such olde Coyne in a very shorte space, which in my Oppinion is a great cause of this dearchy y<sup>e</sup> hath bene since of all things.

How can y<sup>e</sup> be, what maketh it to the matter what sorte of Coyne we haue among our selues, so it be currant from one hand to another, yea if it were made of Leather.

Yea, so men commonly say, but the truth is contrary, as not onely I coulde proue by common reason, but also y<sup>e</sup>

Marchaūt.

That euery  
state findeth  
himselfe grie-  
ued.

Doctor.

That Mar-  
chauntes best  
saue themsel-  
ues in enery  
alteration.

Of our olde  
Coyne exhau-  
sted.

Knight.

Doctor.

# A brieſe Conceipte

Whether it  
make any mat-  
ter of vvhhat  
mettall the  
Coyne bee  
made of.

What men are  
moſte pinched  
by this comon  
Dearth.

That the  
Prince hath  
moſte loſſe by  
this comon  
Dearth.

prooſe & experience hath already declared the ſame: but  
nowe wee doe not reaſon of the cauſes of theſe griefes, but  
what ſtates of men bee grieued in deede by this dearth of  
things, and albeit I heare euery man finde him ſelfe grie-  
ued by it in one thinge or other, yet conſidering þ as many  
of them as haue wares to ſell, doe enhaunſe as much in þ  
pryce of thinges that they ſell, as was enhaunſed before in  
the prices of things that they muſt buy: as the Marchaunt  
if hee buy deere hee will ſell deere againe: ſo theſe Artifi-  
cers, as Cappers, Clothiers, Shomakers, and Farmers  
haue reſpect large ynough in ſellinge their wares to the  
pryce of victayle, Woolle, & Iron, which they buy. I haue  
ſene a Cap for xiiii. pence as good as I can get now for it.  
ſhillings ſixe pence: of cloth pee haue heard how the pryce  
is rylen. Now a payre of ſhoos coſt twelue pence, yet in  
my time I haue bought a better for ſixe pence. Now I can  
get neuer a horſe ſhoed vnder ten pence or twelue pence,  
where I haue alſo ſene the comon pryce was ſixe pence.

I cannot therefore vnderſtande that theſe men haue grea-  
teſt greiſe by this comon and vniuerſall dearth, but ra-  
ther ſuch as haue their Lpuinges and Stypendes rated  
at a certaynty, as common Laborers at eight pence a day,  
Journeyemen of all occupations, ſeruing men to forty ſhi-  
llings a yeare: and Gentlemen whoſe landes are ſet out by  
them and their Anceſtors, either for lyues or for terme of  
yeares, ſo as they cannot enhaunce þ rentes thereof though  
they would, and yet haue the pryce enhaunſed to them of e-  
uery thing that they buye. Yea, the Prince of whom wee  
ſpeake nothing of all this while, as he hath moſt of yeare-  
ly Reuenues and that certayne, ſo ſhould ſhe haue moſte  
loſſe by this dearth, and by the alteration ſpecially of the  
Coyne, for like as a man that hath a great number of ſer-  
uants vnder him, if he would graunt that they ſhould pay  
him pinnes weekly, where before they payde him pence,  
I thinke



I thinke he should be most looser himselfe : so wee bee all but gatherers for the Prince, and of that which cometh to vs, wee haue but every man a poore liuinge, the cleare gaynes cometh for the most part to the Prince, now if her highnes doe take of vs the ouerplus of our gettings in this base Copie, I repute me to you whether y will go as farre as good Money in y Prouision of necessities for her selfe at the Realme. I thinke plainly no, for though her grace might within this realme haue thinges at her owne price, as her grace cannot indeede without great grudge of her Maiesties subiects, yea since her Maiesty must haue from beyonde the Seas many thinges necessary, not onely for her graces household, and Dynaments aswel of her person and family, as of her horses, which percase might bee by her Grace somewhat moderated: but also for the furniture of her warres, which by no meanes can be spared, as Armoz of all kindes, Artillery, Ankers, Cables, Pitch, Tarre, Iron, Steele, (yea, I iudge farther) some Handgunnes, Gunne powder, and many other thinges moe then I can reckon, which her Grace sometimes doth buy from beyonde the Seas, at the prices that the straungers will set them at: I passe ouer the enhaunsment of y charges of her Graces houshoulde which is common to her Grace with all other noble men, therefore (I say) her Maiestie should haue most losse by this common dearth of all other: and not onely losse, but daunger to the Realme and all her subiects, if her Grace should want Treasure to purchase the saide prouision and necessities for warre, or to finde Souldiers in time of neede, which passeth all the other priuate losses that wee speake of.

What danger should it be to the Realme if the Prince should want Treasure in time of neede.

Wee heare say that the Queenes Maiesties mint maketh by her losses that way, by the gaines which she hath by the Mint an other way, and if that be to shorthe, shee supplieth that lacke by Subsidies, and impositions of her

Capper.

Subiects

# A brieſe Conceipte

Subjects, ſo as her Grace can haue no lacke, ſo longe as her Subjects haue it.

Doctor.

Howe the  
Queenes Ma-  
ieſty cannot  
haue Treſure  
When her ſub-  
iects haue  
none.

To vvhath pro-  
fit the new  
Mint is like.

Knighte.

Doctor.

Knight.

Wee ſay well there, ſo long as the Subjects haue it, ſo it is meete the Queene ſhoulde haue as long as they haue it: but what and they haue it not, for they cannot haue it, when there is no Treſure left within the Realme, and as touching the Mint, I coumpte that profit much like, as if a man woulde take his woode by by the rote to make the more profit thereof at one time, and euer after to loſe ſome profit that might growe thereof yearly: or to pull ſome wooll of his ſheepe by the roote. And as for the Subſidies, howe can they be large when the Subjects haue litle to departe with: & yet ſome way of gatheringe treſure is not allwayes moſt ſafe for the Princes ſuerty: and wee ſee many times the profits of ſuch Subſidies ſpent in the appeaſing of the people that are moued to ſedition, partely by occaſion of the ſame.

Nowe that it was our chaunce to meete with ſo wiſe a man as yee be, Maſter Doctor, I woulde wee did go thorough with ſome whole diſcourſe of this matter, & as hetherto wee haue enſearched the very ſozes, and grieues that eue-ry man feeleth: ſo to try out the cauſes of them, and ſome cauſes once knowne, the remedy of them might be ſoone apparent, and though we be not the men that can reforme them. yet percaſe ſome of vs may come in place where wee may aduertise other of the ſame that might further and helpe ſorward the redreſſe of theſe thinges.

A Gods name, I am content to beſtowe this day to ſat-  
iſſie your pleaſurs, & though this communication (percaſe)  
ſhould doe no great good, yet it can doe no harme I truſt,  
nor offend no man, ſich it is had betwene vs heere a parte,  
and in good maner.

No, what man ſhould be angry with him that were in  
an houſe, and eſpied ſome faulce in the Beames, or Raf-  
ters of



ters of the same, and would ensearch the default, & then cer-  
 rifie the good man of the house thereof or some other dwel-  
 ling therein, aswell for his owne sauegarde as for others: A recapitulation of the com-  
 mongriefes.  
 but forasmuch as wec haue thus farre proceeded as to the  
 findinge out of the griefes, which as farre as I perceauc  
 standeth in these poynts (that is to say) dearth of all things  
 in comparison of the former age (though there be scarcenes  
 of nothings), desolation of Countreys by Inclosures, desola-  
 tion of townes for lacke of occupations and Craftes: and  
 diuision of Opinions in matters of Religion, which ha-  
 leth men to and fro, and maketh them contend one against  
 another. Now let vs goe to the Garden vnder the Wyne,  
 where hauing a good, freshe, and coole sitting for vs in the  
 shadow, there wee may proceede farther in this matter  
 at leasure. And I will bespeake our Supper here with  
 myne host, that wee may all suppe together. A Gods name  
 (quoth euery one of the rest of the company) for wee are  
 weary of sitting here so long. And so wee all departed to  
 the Garden.

**D. THE**

# THE SECOND DIA- logue, wherein the causes or occasions of the sayd griefes are en- creased.

Knight.



Hen we had walked

by and downe in the sayd Garden a  
pety whyle, I thought long till I  
had heard more of the sayde Doc-  
tors communication, for hee see-  
med to mee a very wise mā not af-  
ter y common sort of these Clarkes  
which can talke nothing but of the

faculty that they proesse: as if they be Deuins, of diui-  
nity: Lawyers, of the lawe: & Physicians, of phisicke onely:  
this man spake very naturallly of euery thinge, as a man  
vniuersally scene that had ioyned good learning with good  
wit: and therefore I desired him and the rest of our saide  
companions to resorte againe to the matter that wee left  
at, and first to discourse & search out what should be y cau-  
ses of the saide common and vniuersall dearth of all thinges  
(in cōparison of the former age) saying to y Doctor thus.  
I maruaile much maister Doctor what should be the cause  
of this dearth, seeing all thinges are (thankes bee to God)  
so plētifull. There was neuer more plenty of Cattell thē  
there is nowe of all sortes: and yet there is scarcity of thinges  
which commonly make dearth. This is a maruaylous  
dearth, that in such plenty cometh, contrary to his kinde.

That it is a  
maruaylous  
Dearth that  
cometh in  
time of plenty.

Doctor.

Syr, it is (no doubt) a thinge to be mused vpon, and wor-  
thy of Inquisition: let mee heare euery one of your opini-  
ons and than yee shall heare mine.

Husband.

I thinke it is longe of you Gentlemen, that t<sup>his</sup> dearth  
grow



groweth, by reason yee enhaunse your lands to such a height as men that liue thercon must needs sell deare againe, or els they were neuer able to make their Rent.

The occasion  
of this dearth  
is layde to the  
Gentleman,  
Knight.

And I say it is long of you Husbandmen, that wee are forced to rayse our Rents, by reason wee must buy so deare all thinges that wee haue of you, as Corne, Cattell, Goose, Pigge, Capon, Chicken, Butter and Egges. What thinge is there of all these but that yee sell it nowe dearer by the one halfe then yee did within these xxx. yeares? Canst thou Neighbour remember that within these xxx. yeres I could in this towne buy the best Pigge or Goose that I could lay my hand on for foure pence, which now costeth twelue pence, a good Capon for threepence, or fourpence, a Chicken for i. d. a Hen for ii. d. which now costeth mee double & triple the money: it is likewise in greater ware, as Biese & Butte.

From the Gē-  
tlemen it is  
layde to the  
Husbandmen.

I graunt that: but I say you & your sorte, men of landes are the first cause heereof, by reason you rayse your landes.

Husband-

Well; if yee and your sorte will agree thereto, I shalbee holpen: vnder take that you & your sorte will sell all thinges at the price yee did xxx. yeares agoe, & I doubt not to bringe all Gentlemen to lette vnto you their landes at the rent they went at xxx. yeares past: and that the fault is more in you, that bee Husbandmen then in vs that bee Gentlemen, it appeareth by this: all the landes of the Realme are not enhaunsed, for some haue takings therein, as Leases, or Copies not yet expyred which cannot bee enhaunsed though the owners would: and some Noblemen and Gentlemen there bee, that when their landes be at their disposition, yet they will enhaunce nothing aboue the olde rent, so as a greate parte of the landes of the Realme stand yet at the olde rent: and yet neuerthelesse there is none of your sorte at all, but selleth all things they haue dearer then they were wont to doe by one halfe. And yet these Gentlemen that doe enhaunse their rentes, doe not enhaunse it generally to the

Knighte.

The Gentle-  
mens excuse  
and reasonable  
offer.

# A brieft Conceipt

double: though I confesse that some of vs that had landes e. ther giuen vs by the Kings highnesse, & belonged heretofore to Abbeyes, and Priories, and were neuer surueyed to the vitermost before, or otherwise descended to vs, haue enhaunsed any of them aboue the old rent: yet all y<sup>e</sup> amounteth not to halfe the landes of the Realme.

Doctor.

How say yee? hee sayeth well to you now: will yee sell your wares as yee were wont to doe, and hee will let you haue his lande at the rent yee were accustomed to haue it.

Husband.

When the husbandman had pawled a while, hee sayd.

If I had the price of euery thing that I must pay for be- sides likewise brought downe, I could be content: els not.

Doctor.

What thinges bee those?

Husband.

The husband- man refuseth, and putteth o- ver the faulte to Iren Mon- gers, and clo- thiers.

Gary, Iron for my Plough, Harrowes, and Cartes: farre for our sheepe: shooes, cappes, linnen & wollen cloth for my meaw, which if I should buy neuerthelesse as deare as I doe now, and yet sell my wares good cheape, though my rent were thereafter abated, except the other thinges aforesayd might bee abated in price together, I could ne- uer lyue.

Doctor.

Then I perceauie yee must haue y<sup>e</sup> price of other things qualified as well as the rent of your land, ere yee can afozd your ware good cheape.

Husband.

Yea, (but sir) I thinke if the lande were brought downe that the price of all thinges would fall withall.

Doctor.

Graunt that all the Landlords in this realme woulde with one assent agree that they<sup>r</sup> landes should bee in they<sup>r</sup> Tenaunts handes, at like rent as they were at xxx. yeares agoe: yee sayd afore yee coulde not yet sell your wares as good cheape as yee might xx. yeares past, because of the price that is rayled in other thinges that yee must buy: and if ye would say that those men should be diuinen againe to sell those wares that yee buy, first better cheape, and then yee will sell yours thereafter: I pray you how might they be com-



be compelled to doe so: they be straungers, and not within obedience of our soueraigne Lady, that doe sell such wares, as Iron, Tarre, Flaxe, and other: then consider mee, if yee cannot so compell them, whether it were expedient for vs to suffer straungers to sell all their commodities deere, & wee ours good cheape: if it were so, than it were a greate enryching of other countreyes, and impouerishinge of our owne, for they should haue much Treasure for theirs, and haue our commodities from vs for a very litle: except yee could deuise to make one pyce of our commodities among our selues, and another outwarde, which I cannot see how it may bee.

If all Landes were abated in their rent, whether this dearch would be remedied.

That it were not expedient that straungers should sell deere and vce ours good cheape.

May, I will make my Neighbour heere another reasonable offer, if hee refuse this: let my Tenautes rent bee increased as your payment is increased after the rate, and yet I am contented.

Knight.

A nother offer of the Gentleman made to the Husband.

Husband. What meane yee by that?

I meane this: yee sell that yee were wont to sell a fortnight for xx. groates, now for xxx. let my rent bee increased after that proportion and rate, that is for euery xx. groates of olde rente x. shillings, and so as the pyce of your wares riseth, and yet I doe but keepe my land at the olde stent.

Knighte.

My bargayne was to pay for my holde, but vi. poundes xiii. shillings iiii. d. of yearly rent, and I pay that truely, yee can require no more of mee.

Husband.

I cannot much say agaynst that, but yet I perceauie I shall be still a loser by that bargayne, though I cannot tell the reason why: but I perceiue yee sell dearer than yee liue on, and I good cheape that which is my liuing: helpe mee mayster Doctor I pray you, for the Husbandman drineth mee to the Wall.

Knight.

May but mee thinke touching the matter yee did reason of, you drane him to his shiftes, that is, to confesse that this dearch riseth not at your hand. And though hee doe de-

Doctor.

## A brieft Concept,

Whether if the  
Husbandman  
were forced  
to abate  
the prices  
of his stuffe  
this death  
should be the  
mended.

send him selfe for his paymente to you by a colour of lawe,  
yet hee seemeth to cōfesse thus much, that the lawe compell-  
eth you to take litle for your land, & that there is no lawe  
to restrayne him, but hee may sell his wares as deere as  
he listeth. It is enough for your purpose that yee tooke in  
hand to proue that this dearth rose not first at your hant:  
but whether (the pyces of thinges increasing as they doe)  
it were reason yee did rayle your wares, (which is your  
lande) or to bee payde after the olde rate when yee did sette  
your land, if yee bee compelled to pay for your prouision af-  
ter the newe rate, wee will talke of that here after, or let y  
bee considered of other wise men: but now let vs see if the  
Husbandman were forced to sell his thinges good cheape,  
whether all thinges should bee well then. Our English  
Coyne being supposed to be base, and of no such estimati-  
on in other countreies as within our owne Realme (as for  
the most parte it hath beene) before that it was restored by  
our noble Prince which now raygneth: put the case this, y  
this husbandman should bee cōmaunded to sell his wheate  
at viii. d. the bushell, Rye at vi. d. Barley at iiii. d. his pig  
and goose at iiii. d. his capon at iiii. d. his Henne at i. d. ob.  
his Wooll at a marke the Todde, Bieses and Buttons af-  
ter the olde pyces in time past haue beene: hee hath then  
enough to pay his Landlord, as hee had in time past: his  
Landlord agayne hath as much rent as hee was wonte to  
haue: and the same when the price is so set, will goe as far  
for the sayd wares, whereof y pyces be thus set as so much  
of olde Coine, paide after the olde wont would haue done:  
all this is yet well, heere is yet neither Lord. nor Tenaunte  
griued: well let vs goe farther. The Husbandman must  
buy Iron, Salt, Tarre, Pitch, and suppose hee should bee  
also forced to reare vp Flaxe on his owne, and that pyces  
of cloth both Linnen, & Woollen, & Leather were set after  
the rate. The Gentleman must buy Wyne, Sypces, Sil-  
kes, Ar.



kes, Armour, Glasse to glaze a house withall: Iron also  
for Toolles, Weaponnes, and other Instruments necessary,  
as Salt, Dyles, & many other diuerse thinges, more then  
I can reckon without tyme: wherof they may in no wise  
want, as Iron, & Salt, for of that which is within this realme  
of both, is not halfe sufficient for the same: Dyles, Tarre,  
Pitch, and Rozyn, wherof wee haue none at all, and with-  
out some other of the said commodities wee could liue but  
grossly, and Barbarously, as without Wyne, Spices, &  
Silkes; these must be brought from beyonde the Seas:  
shall wee buy them as good cheape after the rate? A man  
would thinke yes: for when straungers should see that with  
lesse money then they were wont to take for these wares,  
they may buy as much of the commodities of this realme  
as they were wont afore with more money, they will bee  
content to take the lesse money when it goeth as farre as  
more went before, and so sell their wares as good cheape:  
(as for an example) if they sell now a yard of Veluet for  
xx.s. or xxii.s. and pay that for a Cobbe of Wooll, were it  
not as good for them thento sell their Veluet at a marke &  
yard so they had a Cobbe of Wooll for a marke?

I would thinke so, for thereby hee should be at no more Knightes  
losse then hee is now. And so the like reason may serue for  
Iron, Wyne, Salt, Spice, Dyles, Pitch, Tarre, Glasse,  
Ware, and all other outward commodities.

If I should aske you this question, whether they should Doctor,  
bee compelled by a lawe to sell theyr wares so or no: what  
could yee say?

It maketh no matter whether it were so or no, & I thinke  
they cannot, because they be out of the Princes Dominion, Knightes.  
and at liberty whether they will bring any thing to vs or  
no, but seeinge they may haue all thinges beere, as good  
cheape at that price they sell for lesse money, as they had  
before for the greater price, they will willingly bring their  
wares and sell them so.

There.

# A brieft Conceipt

Doctor.

The straungers  
vill take but  
money entrant  
euery Where  
for thir vware  
that they haue  
on their  
charge.

Thereof I doubt, vpon the former supposition of our base Coyne, for I thinke they wold sell still at the highest as they doe now, or bring nothing at all to vs. For yee must vnderstand they come not alwayes for our commodities, but sometimes to sell theirs heere, knowing it heere to be best vendible, and to buy in other countreyes other commodities where the same is best cheape, and some times to sell in one parte of the Realme their wares that bee there most desired, and to goe to some other parte of the realme for the commodities that be there most abundaunt and best cheape: or partly of our Countrey & partly of another: and for þ purpose Coyne vniuersally currant is most commodious, specially if they entred to bestowe it in any other place, the where they were vnladen of their marchandise. Now if our coyne were not so allowed in other places as it is heere, þ straunger should be at greater losses if he should take our coyne for his wares, so as he had leauer bring his wares to other places where hee might haue Coyne currant in all places for it, that he might bestowe when and where he list. If they would looke but for our wares for theirs, thinke yee that they would not study to bring vs such wares or stufte as should be best cheape with them, and most deare with vs.

Knight.

Yea no doubt, that is the policy of all Marchaunts.

Doctor.

What stufte is that crowe you?

Knighte

Many Glasses of all sortes, paynted Clothes, & Papers, Oranges, Pippens, Cherries, perfumed Gloues, and such like trysles.

Doctor.

That straun-  
gers and all  
Marchauntes  
bring thinges  
that bee best  
chape to them.

Yee say well, they will percase attempt vs with such, & such thinges as are good cheape with them, it costeth but their labours onely and their peoples, which els should be idle, yet these thinges be some what after the price in other places vendible as well as heere. But when wee feeble the lacke of Iron, Steele, Salt, Venise, Flaxe, and such other, such light wares as yee speake of will not be desired heere, but re



but reietted, and these other looked for: what other things els will they bring trowe you?

Percale yee meane, Silkes, Wynes, and Sppres?

No not that, for those bee in good price els u here.

What then should they haue to biter to vs, that is best cheape with them and dearest with vs?

Brasse, for it should go w them but for Brasse in deere, and therefore good cheape, and heere with vs a great part for Siluer, and therefore deere with vs, and y they would bringe vnto vs.

How, in brasse Pots, Pannes, and other Vessel of Brasse?

Not so: no man would take such Stuffe but for Brasse in deede.

and decret  
vvith vs.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knighte.

Doctor.

How then? Then the Doctor tolde mee, that it was in Coyne made beyonde sea like in all thinges to our Coyne, which they brought ouer in heapes, and when they see that esteemed heere as siluer, they bringe that for our commodities, as, for our Woolles, selles, Cheese, Butter, Cloth, Winne, and Ledde, which thing euery man will be glad to sell for the most they can get: and beinge offered of straungers more of our Coine then they may get within the country, they will sell them to straungers rather then vs with whom the price is lesse then straungers may aforde y Coine good cheape, for they make it them selues, and the Stuffe is good cheape that they make it of, and so they will geue therof for our sayde commodities as much as yee will aske. When though they made not such Coyne theselues, yet seeing they must pay more for our wares, or els no mā would bring them to them, when hee may haue as much at home of his neighbours, the straungers must needs haue a consideration of that in the price of y sayd outward marchandise that they sell, & also holde them deerer. And thus by the one way they may exhauste our cheife commodities, and giue vs brasse for them, where with wee cannot buy such

C.

like o.

# A brieffe Conceiſo

Glauci &  
Diomedis  
permutatio.

He that ſelles  
good cheape  
and buieth  
deere ſhall not  
light ly thrive.  
Knight.

Doctor.

It is not poſſi-  
ble to keepe  
our Treafure  
from going  
forth of the  
Realme, if it  
be in more e-  
ſtimation elle  
wyhere.

other like neceſſary commodities againe, as we ſhould  
want if they were not plenty within our Realme. Such  
like the exchange that Homer ſaith Glaucus made with  
Diomedes, when he gaue to his man his golden Harnelle  
for Braſen. But by other way they muſt needes bee brought  
to ſell their wares deerer to vs, and then if this buſhand-  
man and Gentleman, and ſo all other within this realme  
ſhould be compelled to ſell their thinges good cheape, and  
yet buy all thinges deere that cometh from beyonde the  
Sea, I cannot ſee how they ſhould longe prosper, for I ne-  
uer knewe him that bought deere, and ſold good cheape  
and ble it any long ſpace to thrive.

There may be ſearchers made for ſuch Coyner as yet  
ſpeake of coming in, and purſuementes denied therefore,  
and for goinge forth at Victayles alſo, that none ſhall paſſe  
this Realme.

There may be no deuile imagined ſo ſtronge, but that we  
may bee deceaued in both thoſe points, as well in ſuch com-  
brought in, as in victayles caried forth: for many beaſes will  
deuile many wayes to get any thinge by, though we be  
emproned with a good Hoole (that is the Dea) yet there  
is to many Doſters of it to gett out and in, by wares of the  
maſter. Wholoquer hath but a pretty houſe with any fa-  
mily of his owne, and but one Gate to go forth and come in  
at, and the maſter of y<sup>e</sup> houſe neuer ſo attentive, yet ſome-  
what ſhall be purloined forth, much more one of ſuch a large  
Realme as this is, hauinge ſo many wayes and Doſters  
to goe forth at and come in. And yet if ſtraungers ſhould  
be content to take but our wares for theirs, what ſhould  
let them to aduance y<sup>e</sup> prices of their wares, though ours  
were good cheape vnto them, and then ſhall we be ſtilled  
ſers and they at the winning hand with vs, while they ſell  
deere and buy good cheape: and conſequently enrich them-  
ſelues and impoveriſhe vs. Yet had I leaſer aduance our  
wares in



wares in price as they aduance theirs (as wee now doe) though the Count bee losers thereby, but yet not so many as should bee the other waye. And yet, what businesse shoulde there bee in making of prices of euery trifle, so that it would bee, if the price of any one thinge bee abated by commaunde-  
ment; and therefore I cannot perceiue that it maye bee remedied by either of you both (I meane you Gentleman, & you good husbandman) for if it rose at either of your hands, so it might be remedied likewise at the same, by releasing the thinge againe at either of your handes that was the cause of this dearth. But if either you should release your rente, or you the price of your Aletayle to the olde rate, yet that coulde not compell strangers to bringe downe the price of theirs as I haue sayd; and so longe as their commodities be deere, it were neither expedient nor yet could yee (though yee woulde) make your commodities good cheape (except yee can deuise a waye how to liue without them & they without you) which I thinke impossible; or else to vse exchanging of wares for wares without Coyne (as it was before Coyne was founde) as I reade in the time of Homer it was, and also the Civile lawe doth affirme the same, which were verye cumbersome, and would require much cariage of wares by land and downe, where nowe by the benefit of Coyne a man may by those tokens fetch the wares that he lacketh a farre off, without great trouble of cariage, and hard worke if ready moneye were alwayes that the one hath to pay the other, of equal value.

If neither the gentleman nor I maye remedy this matter, as wofull hands lieth it to bee holpen then. I will tell you mynde hereafter, but first let vs knowe the cause of this dearth. And therefore let me learne what other thinge shoulde be the cause thereof. And I haue these Inconueniences, and great Distresses are a great cause of the same. Whereby men do turne the arable lande

in England  
shall bring  
nothing

That the darth  
ofe neither at  
the Gentleman  
nor Husband?  
in any hand.

Permutation  
of things I e.  
fore Coyne.

Knights

Husband

Doctor

illegible

Capper

# A brieft Concept

Complaynt a-  
gainst sheepe-  
maisters

beinge a liuing for diuerse poore men before time, nowe to  
one mans hand, and where both Corne of all sorte, and al-  
so cattell of all kinds were reared afozetime, now there is  
nothing but onely sheepe. And in steede of C. or CC. per-  
sons that had their liuing thereon, now bee there but thre  
or foure Sheepheards and the Maister onely that hath a li-  
ning therof.

Doctor.

That Inclo-  
sures is the oc-  
casion of deso-  
lation & vvea-  
king the povv-  
er of the  
Realme.

Wee touch a matter that is much to be considered, albe-  
it I take not that to bee onely the cause of this dearth at this  
time, but this I thinke in my minde, that if that kinde of  
inclosing doe as much increase in xxx. yeares to come, as it  
hath done in xxx. yeares past, it may come to a great deso-  
lation and weaking of the strenght of this realme, which is  
more to be feared the dearth, & I thinke it to bee a most oc-  
casion of any thinge wee spake yet, of these wilde & unhappy  
bpyroes that hath bene among vs, for by reason of these Inclo-  
sures many Subiectes haue no Grounde to liue vppon, as  
they had before time, and occupations be not alwayes set a  
worke all a like, and therefore the people still increasinge,  
and their liuinges diminishing, it must needs come to passe  
that a great part of the people shalbe idle and lacke liuinge,  
for hunger is a bitter thing to beare. Therefore they must  
needes when they lacke, murmur agayne them that haue ple-  
ty, and so stirre these tumultes.

Knighte.

Quod in co-  
muni possi-  
detur, ab om-  
nibus negli-  
gitur.

Reasons to de-  
fend Inclosures

Experience should seeme to proue playnely that Inclo-  
sures should bee profitable and not hurtfull to the common  
weale: for we see the countreyes, where most Inclosiers be, are  
most wealthy, as Essex, Kent, Northhamptonshyre. &c.  
And I haue hearde a Ciuillon once say, that it was take for  
a Maxime in his lawe (this sayng) that which is possessed  
of many in common is neglected of all, & experience shew-  
eth that Tenants in common be not so good husbandes as  
when every man hath his parte in seueraltie: also I haue  
heard say that in the most countreyes beyonde the Sea, they  
knowe



knowe not what a common ground is.

I meane not of all Inclosures, nor yet all commons, but onely of such Inclosures as turneth common & erable tilles into pasture, and violent Inclosures of commons without iust recompence of them that haue right to common there in: for if lands were leuerally inclosed to the intent to continue husbandry thereon, and every man that hath right to common had for his portion a piece of y<sup>e</sup> same to himselfe inclosed, I thinke no harme but rather good should come thereof, if every man did agree thereto: but yet it would not be sodaynely done, for there be many poore cottages in England, which hauing no lands of their own to till one, but their handy labour and some refreshing vppon the sayde commons, which if they were sodaynely thrust out from that commodity, might make a greace tumulte and a disorder in the commonweale, and yet case also if men were suffered to inclose their grounds vnder the p<sup>r</sup>erence to keepe it still in tillage, within a while after they would turne all to pasture, as wee see they doe now, too fast.

If they finde more profit thereby then otherwise, why should they not?

I can tel why they should not wel ynough, for they may not purchase themselves profit by y<sup>e</sup> which may be hurtfull to others: but how to bring them y<sup>e</sup> they should not to doe, is al the matter, for so long as they finde more profit by pasture then by tillage, they will still inclose and turne erable land to pastures. (y<sup>e</sup> the Knight) What well may be restrained by lawes, if it were thought most profitable for y<sup>e</sup> common weale, but all men doe not agree to that poynte.

I wot well they doe not, and therefore it were hard to make a lawe therein: so many shal haue profit by that matter resisting it. And if such a lawe were made, yet men studying still of there most profit, would be defraude the lawe by one meane or other.

Doctor.

What kinde of Inclosures is hurtfull.

Knighte

Doctor

Knighte.

Doctor.

Whether that which is profitable to one may be profitable to all other, if they be the same feate.

Knight.

Doctor.

Abriefe Conceipt

# Knight

I haue heard oftentimes much reasoning in this matter, and some in maintenance of these Inclosures would make this reason, euery man is a Member of the commonweale, & that which is profitable to one man may be profitable to another, if he would exercise the same feat. Therefore that which is profitable to mee & so to another, may be profitable to all, and so to the whole commonweale, as a greace of alle, of a treasure consisteth of many pence, and one pence added to another, and so to the third and fourth &c. maketh by a greace summe, so both each man adden one to another make by the whole body of a common weale.

Doctor

That reason is good, adding some what more to it, true  
it is, that that thing which is profitable to each man by him-  
self, so it be not prejudicial to any other, is profitable to the  
whole community, and not otherwise: or else stealing or  
robbing which at a rate is profitable to some men, were pro-  
fitable to the community, which no man will admit, but  
things that which is so, where it is profitable to one  
man it is prejudicial to many, therefore I think that reason

**Knight**

Allo they will laye forth another Reason; saying; that in

Doctor

which is our longest commodity, and so we have always aduanced as much as might be, and have thereby gotten in one of the greatest commodities we have, therefore it is not to be wondered at as high as in any becometh the matter, the disciples of such a nation much the like the former, from the other, true it is, we ought to aduance our longest commodity as much as we can, and so we have done, and so much more the hindrance of our other commodities, and so that where as the price of our goods are sold, and so that is a commodity of the highest price, and so we should aduance all our other goods to our highest commodity, and so we should by the least and all other commodities for it is but a great folly.

Every commodity must be advanced, so as it be not prejudicial to other greater commodities.

**EXHIBIT**

• 33

They





much plenty of Corne wherby it hath bene good cheape,  
 one Acre bearinge as much Corne as two most commonly  
 were wont to do: yet if these yeares had chaunged to be but  
 meanelly fruitfull of Corne (no doubt) we should haue had  
 a great dearth of Corne as wee haue of other thinges. And  
 then it had bene in a maner an undoing of the poore Com-  
 mens. And if hereafter there should chaunce any barren  
 yeares of Corne to fall, wee should bee assured to finde as  
 greace extremity in the price of Corne from what it was wont  
 to bee, as we finde now in the prices of other victayle. And  
 specially if wee haue not ynough to serue within this Realme  
 which may happen hereafter more likely then in time past,  
 by reason that there is much lande since turned to pasture,  
 for euery man will seeke where most aduantage is, & they  
 see there is most aduantage in grasing and breeding, then  
 in husbandry and tillage by a great deale. And so longe as  
 it is so, the Pasture shall euer mischance upon tillage for all  
 the lawes that euer can be made to the contrary.

Knighte.  
 Doctor.

And how shal we remedie this? might be remedied then?  
 To make the profit of the plough to be as good, rate for  
 rate, as the profit of the Grassie and sheepe pasture is.

Knighte.  
 Doctor.

How inclo-  
 sers may be  
 remedied with-  
 out constraint  
 of lawes.

Now consider what he done. I am content to be done  
 by the devise of the lawe at the first blissh so displeasing  
 to you. For the people consider it thoughtly, that the people will recte  
 themselves by the lawe. For the people will recte  
 good cheape, and then if I should misdeem a man, I should  
 make some thinges dearer for the time, I should bee anon  
 selected, as a man is liable against euery mans purpose.

Knighte.

Doctor.

Yet say your minde and spare not, any thing you crea-  
 se of the first seeme unreasonable, yet we will heare whe-  
 ther we can bring it to any reasonable ende.

Being in what the haue to hande to create it, not how  
 the prices of thinges might be brought downe, but  
 howe



how these Inclosures may bee broken by, and husbandry more bled: of the prices of thinges we shal speake hereafter.

Wee wil remember well that.

Knight.

Doctor.

Knighte

Doctor.

What maketh men to multiply pastures & Inclosures gladly.

Wary the profit that groweth thereby.

It is very true, and none other thinge. Then finde the meanes to doe one of these two thynges that I shall tell you. And yee shall make them as glad to exercise tillage, as they doe nowe Pastures.

What be those two thinges?

Knight.

Doctor.

Wary, either make as litle gaynes to growe by p Pastures as there groweth by p tillage. Or els make p there may growe as much profit by tillage as did before by the Pastures, and then I doubt not but tillage shall be aswell cherished of euery man as Pasture.

And how may that be done?

Knight.

Doctor.

Wary the first way is to make p wooll to be of as base pryce to the breeders thereof, as the Corne is: and p shall be, if yee make a like restraint of it for passing ouer Sea, bntwought as yee make of Corne: another is to increase p custome of Wooll that passeth ouer bntwought. And by that the pryce of it shalbe abated to the breeders, and yet p pryce ouer Sea shal be neuer the lesse: but that which is increased in the pryce thereof on straungers shall come to the Queenes highnesse, which is as profitable to the Realme as though it came to the breeders, and might relieue them of other subsidies. Thus farre as touchinge the bringing downe of the pryce of Woolles, now to the inhaunsinge of the pryce of corne, to be as good to p husbandman as wooll should be, and that might be brought to passe if yee wil let it haue as free passage ouer Sea at all times, as yee haue now for Wooll.

Thata likere-  
straint of vwool  
shuld be made  
as is of Corne,  
or none to be  
sent ouer.

By the first two wayes, men woulde send lesse wooll o-  
uer sea then they doe nowe, and by that way the Queenes

Marchaunt.

f.

custome

# A brieft Conceit

custome should be diminished: by your latter way the pryce of Corne should be much enhaunsed, wherewith men would be much grieved.

Doctor.

I wot wel it would bee deere at the first, but if I can perswade you that it were reasonable, it were so, and that the same could bee no hinderaunce to the Realme vniuersally, but greater profit to the same, then I thinke ye would be content it should be so: and as touchinge the Queenes custome, I will speake afterwarde.

Marchant.  
Doctor,

I graunt, if yee could shewe me that.

I will assay it, albeit the matter be somewhat intricate, and as I shewed you before, at the first yew would displease many: for they would say, would ye make Corne deerer then it is, haue wee not dearch enough els with out that: May I pray you finde the meanes to haue it better cheape if it may bee, it is deare enough already, and such other like reasons would bee sayd. But now let the husbandman answer such againe. Haue not you Grasiers raysed the pryce of your Woolles, and Felles: and you Marchauntmen, Clothiers, and Tappers, raysed the pryce of your marchaundize and wares, ouer it was wont to bee in manner double. Is it not as good reason then that wee should raise the pryce of our Corne: what reason is it you should bee at large, and we should be restrayned? Cyther let vs all be restrayned together, or els let vs bee all at like liberty. Ye may sell your Wooll ouer Sea, your Felles, your Tallow your Cheese, your Butter, and your Leather, (which ryseth all by grasing) at your pleasure, and for þe deereſt penny yee can get for it: and wee shall not sell out our Corne except it bee at x. d the bushel or vnder, that is as much to say, as wee that be husband men shall not sell our ware except it be for nothing, or for so litle as wee shall not be able to liue thereon. Thinke you if the husbandman here had spoke these wordes, that he did not speake them somewhat

reaso-

Reasons vvhy  
the Husband-  
man should  
be at like liber-  
ty as other to  
sell his vyares.



reasonable.

I thanke you with all my hart, for ye haue spoken in **h** Husband matter more then I could doe my selfe, and yet nothing but that is most true. Wee felt the harme, but wee wist not what was the cause therof: many of vs saue well longe agoe, that our profite was but small by the Plough, & therefore diuerse of my Neighbourrs that had in time past, some two, some three, some four Ploughs of their owne, haue layde downe some of them part, and some of them all their Teemes, and turned either part or all their erable ground to Pasture, and thereby haue waxed very riche men. And euery day some of vs incloseth some part of his ground to Pasture, and were it not that our grounde lyeth in **h** common fieldes entermingled one with another, I thinke also our fieldes had bene enclosed of common agreement of all the towneship longe or this time. And to say **h** very truth, I that haue enclosed litle or nothing of my grounde, coulde neuer be able to make vp my Lords rent, were it not for a litle herd that I haue of Krate, sherpe, swyne, geese, and Hennes, that I do reare vpon my grounde. Whereof, because **h** price is somewhat round, I make more cleare profit then I doe of all my corne, & yet I haue but a very bare liuing, by reason that many thinges doe belong to husbandry which bee now exeedinge chargeable ouer they were in time past.

That by breeding the husband hath most cleare gaynes.

Though this reason of maister Doctors here doth please you well that be husbandmen, yet it pleaseth vs that be artificers nothing at all, which buy most both byrade-corne, and malt-corne for our peny: and whereas ye maister doctor say, that it were a good reason that the Husbandman should reyle the price of his corne, and haue as free vent of the same ouer sea, as we doe and haue of our wares: I cannot greatly deny, but that yet I say, that euery man hath neede of corne, but they haue not so much of other wares.

Capper.

# A brieft Concept

Doctor.

That profit ad-  
uanceth all  
faculties.

Honos alit  
Artes.

That some  
things are to  
be allured by  
rewards and  
some other  
with straight  
paynes forced  
in a common-  
Weale

Therefore the more necessary that come is, the more be  
the men to be chearished that reareth it: for if they see there  
bee not so much profit in vsinge the plough, as they see in o-  
ther teates: thinke ye not that they will leane that trade, and  
fall to another & they see more profitable? As yee may per-  
ceiue by the doings of this honest mans neighbours, which  
haue turned there erable lande to pasture, because they see  
more profit by pasture: then by tillage. Is it not an old say-  
ing in Latin. Honos alit artes: that is to say profit or ad-  
uancement nourisheth euery facultie, which sayng is so  
true that it is allowed by the common iudgement of al mē.  
Wee must vnderstand also, that all thinges that should bee  
done in a common Weale, bee not to be forced or to be con-  
strayned by the straight penalties of the lawe, but some so,  
and some either by allurement and rewardes rather. For  
what lawe can compell men to be industrious in trauayle  
or labour of body, or studious to learne any sciēce or know-  
ledge of the mynde: to these thinges they may be well pro-  
uoked encouraged, and allured: if they that be industrious  
and paynesfull bee rewarded well for their paynes: and bee  
suffered to take gaynes and wealth as rewardes of their  
labours, and so likewise they that be learned be aduanc-  
ed and honoured accordinge to their forwardnes in Lear-  
ning: euery man will then study either to bee industrious  
in bodely labour, or studious in thinges that pertaines to  
knowledge. Take these rewardes from them, & go about to  
compell the by lawes thereto, what mā wil plough or digg &  
ground or exercise any manuell art wherein is any paine:  
or who will aduenture ouer seas for any Marchandise, or  
use any facultie wherein any perill or danger should be, se-  
ing his reward shalbe no more then his & sits still. But yee  
wil percase answer me & all their reward shal not be take  
away, but part of it. Yet then yee must graunt me, & as if all  
these rewardes were taken fro the, all these faculties must  
decaie,



decaie, so if part of that reward be minished, the vse of these  
faculties shall minish withall after the rate, and so they shal  
be the lesse occupied, the lesse they be rewarded & esteemed.  
But now to our purpose: I thinke it more necessary to de-  
uise a meane how husbandry may be more occupied rather  
then lesse: which I cannot perceiue how it may be brought  
to passe, but as mē do se the more gaires therein, the glad-  
der they will occupie that feate, and this to be true (that  
some things in a common weale must be forced with paines  
and some by rewards allured) may appeare, by þ which the  
wise and politique senatour Tully wyrteth: saying, that it  
was the wordes of Solen which was one of the seuen wyle  
men of Greece, and of those seuen the onely man that made  
lawes, that a common weale was holden vp by two things  
chiefely, that is by reward and payne: of which wordes, I ga-  
ther, that men should be prouoked to do good deedes by re-  
wardes and preferments: and to abstaine from ill doinges  
by paines. Trowe you if husband men be not better cheary-  
shed & prouoked thē they be, to exercise þ plough, but that  
in proesse of time so many ploughes will be layd downe, as  
I feare me there be all ready that if one vnfruitfull yeare  
shall happen amonge vs, as commonly doth once in seuen  
yeares, we should thē not onely haue dearchy but also skarce-  
nes of corne, that we should be driuen to seeke it from out-  
warde parties, and pay deare for it.

How would yee haue them better chearished to vse the  
plough?

To let them haue more profit by it thē they haue, & liber-  
ty to sell it at all times & to all places as freely as men may  
do other things: but thē (no doubt) the price of corne would  
rise specially at þ first more then at lēgth: yet þ price would  
pronoke euery man to set þ plough in the grounde, to Till  
waste groundes: yea & to turne the lands þ is now enclosed  
for pasture to erable, for euery man will the gladder follow

The lesse ho-  
nor or profit it  
geuen to any  
arte, the lesse it  
shalbe frequē-  
ted.

Tullius in  
Ep. ad atti.

Knight.

Doctor

# A briefe Conceipt

that, wherein they see the more gaines, and thereby must needs ensue both greater plenty of corne within the realme and also much treasure should be brought into the realme, by reason thereof. And besides that, plenty of all other victuall encreased amonge vs.

Knight.

Doctor.

Profit vwill  
make husband  
men more oc-  
cupied, & there  
by more profit  
and consequen-  
tly better  
cheape of  
corne.

That would I faine heare you declare howe?

We haue heard that by this free vent and sale of corne, & husbandmans profit is aduanced: then it is shewed that every man naturally will follow that, wherein he sees profit ensue: therefore men wil the gladder occupy husbandry, & the more doe occupie husbandry, the more plenty of Corne must needs be: And & more plenty of corne there is, thereof the better cheape: And also the more will be spared ouer & which shall suffice for the realme. And then, that may bee spared in a good yeare, shall bringe vs againe either corne, or els the commodities of other countreis necessary for vs. Then the more husbandry there is occupied, the more vniuersall breebe should be of all victuals of Beate, Sheepe, Swine, Geese, Hēnes, Capōs, & Chickens: for al these are reared much on corne.

Knight

If men shoulde sell, when a good seasonable yeare is, all that is ouerplus when the Realme is serued, what shoulde wee doe if a barren yeare shoulde happen, when no store of corne is left of the good yeare before?

Doctor.

Fyrtt ye muste consider that men will bee sure they will keepe inoughe to stude themselves within the realme, ere they sell any forth of the same: and hauing libertie to sell at their pleasure, doubt ye not, but they had leuer sell their corne two pence or thre pence in a bushell better cheape within the realme, then to bee at the charge of cariage, and perill of aduventure, in sending it ouer and sell it deater, except it be for much more gaines. And thus men beinge provoked to laker, wil keepe the more corne, looking for a deare yeare in the countrey, whereby must needs be great store  
and



and though they did not so, but should sell ouer sea all that  
 they might spare ouer that serues the realme when þ yere  
 is plentifull, yet by reason that through the meanes afoze-  
 said moe ploughes are set awoke, then would suffice the  
 Realme in a plentifull yeare: if a scarce yeare should fall af-  
 ter, the corne of so many ploughes as in a good yeare would  
 be more then enough, in an unfruitfull yeare, at the leaste  
 would be sufficiēt to finde the Realme, & so should þ Realme  
 be serued w enough of corne in a scarce yeare, & in a plētiful  
 yere no more thē inough: which might be sold ouer for great  
 treasure, or greater comodities: where now in a plentifull  
 yeare we seeke to haue but as much as may suffice þ Realme.  
 Then if a scarce yeare should happē, we must needes lacke  
 of our owne to serue, and should be dyuen to buy from be-  
 yond the sea, and then if they were as enuious as wee bee,  
 might not they say, when we requyred any corne of them,  
 (that seing they could get none from vs when we had plē-  
 ty,) why should they let vs haue any corne when wee haue  
 scarcitie. Surely common reason would that one region  
 should helpe an other when it lackes: and therefore God  
 hath ordeyned that no countrey should haue all commodi-  
 ties, but that which one lackes, an other brings forth: & that  
 þ one countrey lacketh this yeare, another hath plēty there-  
 of commonly the same yeare, to the intent men may knowe  
 that they haue neede one of anothers helpe, & thereby loue  
 and societie to growe among all men the more. but here we  
 would doe as though we had neede of no other countrey on  
 earth, but to liue all of our selues: & as though wee mighte  
 make the market of all things as wee list our selues. For  
 though God is bountifull vnto vs, & sends vs many greate  
 commodities, yet wee coulde not liue without the com-  
 modities of others. And for example, of Iron and Salte,  
 though wee haue competently thereof, yet wee haue  
 not the

## A brieft Concept

not the thirde parte to suffice the Realme, and that can in no wise be spared if yee will occupy husbandry. then tar, rozen, pitch, Dyle, and Steele, wee haue none at all: and for Wynes, spyes, linnen cloth, silkes, & colourres, though we might liue indifferently without the, yet far frō any ciuility should it be: as I deny not but many things wee might haue heere sufficiently that wee buy now from beyond sea: and many things wee might spare wholly: whereof if time will serue I shall talke more here after: But nowe to returne to the first poynte I spake of before: to bee one of the meanes to bring husbandry by, that is by basing & estimation of wooll, & felles. Though I take not that way to bee as good as the other, for I doe not allowe that meane that may base any of our commodities, except it bee for the inhauntyng of a better commodity: but if both commodities may bee inhaunted together, as by the last deuise I thinke they might be, I allowe that way better, neuertheless where as you (brother Mercer) shewed afoze, that either by restraining of wooll and other commodities, till they were equal within the Realme after the rate of the corne: or by inhaunting the custome of wooll and other the sayd commodities, till the price beside the custome of the sayd commodities were brought like to the corne in proportion: & Quenes custome shoulde bee diminished, I thinke not so, for the one way, as much as she shoulde haue for & more wooll at litle custome ventred ouer, so much shoulde we haue for the lesse wooll at a greater custome ventred. And the other way as much as her Grace shoulde lose by her custome of wooll, so much or more shoulde her grace winne by & custome of Clothes made within the realme. But one thing I doe note by this later deuise, what, if they shoulde take place, we must doe, that is if wee keepe within vs much of our commodities, wee must spare many other things that we haue now from beyond sea, for wee must alwayes take heede that wee buy no more of straun-

Whether the  
Quee. custome  
should be di-  
minished by re-  
straint of wooll  
wrought.



of straungers then we do sell them, for so we should impoverish our selues, and enrich them. For hee were no good husband that had no other yerely reuenewes but of his husbandry to liue on, that would buy more in the market then he selles againe. And that is a pointe that wee might saue much by our treasure in this realme, if wee would. And I maruell no man takes heede to it, what number first of trifles comes hether from beyond the sea that wee might either cleane spare, or els make them within our realme, for the which wee either pay inestimable treasure euery yere, or els exchange substantiall wares and necessary for them, for the which we might receaue great treasure. Of which sort I meane as well, looking glasses as drincking, and also to glaze windowes, Dialles, Tables, Cardes, Balles, Puppettes, penners, Iukehornes, Toothpickes, Gloues, Knives, Dagges, Dwches, Brouches, Agglettes, Buttons of silke & siluer, Earthen pots, Pimmes and Pointes, Hawkes belles, Paper both white and browne, and a thousand like thinges that might either be cleane spared, or els made within the realme sufficient for vs: and as for some thinges, they make it of our owne commodities and send it vs againe, whereby they set their people a worke, and doe exhauste much treasure out of this Realme: as of our woll they make Clothes, Cappes, and Kerseis: of our felles they make Spanish skins, Gloues and Girdels: of our Tinne, Saltsellers, Spooones and Dishes: of our broken Linnen, clothes and ragges, Paper both white and browne. What Treasure (thinke pee) goes out of this Realme for euery of These thinges: and then for all together, it exceeides myne estimation. There is no man can be contented now with any other Gloues, then be made in Fraunce or in Spayne: nor Kerseie but it must bee of Flaunders die: nor Cloth, but French or Fysleadowe: nor Duche, Brooch, or Agglet but of Venice making, or Millen: nor Dagger, Swearde,

Howe straungers fetch from vs our great for very trifles

Our delicacy in requiring straungers Wares.

# A briefe Conceipt

The encrease  
of haberdash-  
ers & mileners  
ouer they were  
vront to be.

How the straū-  
gers finde an  
easier vway to  
get treasure by  
thinges of no  
value then by  
any mynes of  
gould or siluer

How straun-  
gers finde their  
nation vwith  
our commodi-  
ties, and on  
our costes,

Kniffe or Gyrdle but of spanissh making, or some outward  
countrey, no not as much as a Spurre but that is fetched  
at the Millener. I haue heard within these xl. yeares. when  
there were not of these Haberdashers that selles french or  
Millen Cappes, Glasses, Knives, Daggers, Swordes,  
Gyrdels and such thinges, not a dosen in all London: & now  
from the tower to Westminster alonge, eury streate is  
full of them, and their shoppes glitter and thynne of Glas-  
ses as well dzyinking as looking. yea all maner of besell of  
the same stuffe: paynted Cruces, gaye Daggers, Knyues,  
Swordes, and Gyrdels, that it is able to make any tēperate  
man to gase on them and to buy somewhat, though it serue  
to no purpose necessarie. What neede they beyonde sea to  
trauaile to Perowe or such farre countreies, or to trie out  
the sandes of the ryuers of Tagus in Spaine, pactolus in  
Alia, and Ganges in India, to get amonge them after much  
labour small sparkes of gold, or to digge the deepe bowels  
of the earth for the mine of Siluer or Golde, whē they cā  
of vile clate not farre sought for, and of pypple stones and  
Ferne rootes, make good Golde and Siluer, more thē a  
great many of Siluer and Golde mines would make. I  
thinke not so litle as a hundreth thousand poundes a yeaere  
is fetched of our Treasure for thinges of no valure of thē  
selues, but onely for the labours of the workers of the same,  
which are set a worke all on our charges. What grosnes  
of wits be we of, that se it, and suffer such a cōtinual spoyl  
to be made of our good and treasure by such meanes, and  
specially that will suffer our owne commodities to goe and  
set straungers a worke, and then to buy thē againe at their  
handes: as of our Tull they make and die Kerlies, Frise-  
adowes, broade Clothes, and Cappes beyonde sea, & bying  
them hether to bee solde againe: wherein I pray you note  
what they doe: they make vs pay at the ende for our owne  
stuffe againe. Yea, for þe straūgers custome, for their worke-  
manshippe



manshippe, and colours, and lastely for the second custome in the retourne of the wares into the realme again: where as by working the same within the realme, our owne men should be set a worke at the charges of straungers, the custome should be borne all by straungers to the Ducene, & the cleare gaines remaine within the Realme.

If yee ponder such thinges and other, which goeth ouer Sea yerely from vs for the same, yee speake to litle by as much againe, but one thinge I haue marked that albe it is true, that though straungers buy their woll dreare & pay twise custome, that is both at going out of the wooll, and when it retournes in clothes or cappes, yet the same shalbe better cheape then that which is made within the Realme, whereof that should come, I would faine knowe.

Whether it come of our sloth, or of our chargeable fare, or of our idleness, which we Englishmen vse, percase more then other nations, I knowe not: yet it were better for vs to paie more to our owne Countreymen for these wares, then to straungers lesse, for how litle gaines so euer goeth ouer, it is lost to vs cleare, but how much so euer y gaines is that goeth from one of vs to another, it is all saued within the Realme: and a like reason as you make now here, Once a Booke-seller made mee when I asked him, why we had not white and browne paper made within y realme as weil as they had made beyond the sea: Then he answered mee y there was paper made a while within y realme. At the last the man perceiued that made it that he could not aforde his paper as good cheape as it came from beyond y sea, and so he was forced to lay downe making of paper and no blame in the man, for men will geue neuer the more for his paper because it was made here: but I would eyther haue the paper staied from coming in, or so burdened with custome: that by that time it came hether, our men mighte aforde their paper better cheape, then straungers might do

Knight

Doctor.

Why straigers  
may as  
vvares  
cheap  
by th  
vve may the  
saie made  
here, & yet  
that it vvere  
better for vs to  
buy our owne  
though they  
vvere dearer.

# A brieft Conceipt

theires, the customes considered.

**Knight.**

There ye speake a thinge that the Queenes Atturney would not agrce vnto, for if such wares were made within the realme, the the Queenes custome should be lesse, by reason that litle or no such wares should come from beyond the Sea.

**Doctor.**

The most durable & vniuersal profit is more to be esteemed then short and particular.

If the Queenes Atturney did regard, as well the profit that should come after, as that which is present afoze hys eyes, hee would agree to this well inough, for by this meanes inestimable treasure should be saued within hys realme, and then it could not growe to the profit of the subiects, but it must needes growe also to the profite of the Queene, for the wealth of the subiectes, is the profit of the Queene: and in mine opinion they doe not beste prouide for her Graces profite, that procureth onely a presente commoditie: but rather that comodity that may longest endure without griefe of her subiects.

**Knight.**

You would haue a lawe made, that no such ware should be brought from beyond the sea, to be sould heere, of such things as could be made heere, as wel as there.

**Doctor.**

**Knight.**

Yea forsooth, so would I wishe.

Whether our restraints doe touch the leagues made vvith other Prynces.

I was once in a Parlyament, when such a thinge was mooued, but onely for Cappes, that none made beyond sea should bee sould heere within the Realme, and then it was answered by a greate wise man, that it was to bee feared least it touched the league made betwene hys Princes highnesse, & some forraigne Prince, what thinke you the would haue bene said, if yee would haue moued a lawe to be made of our wooll, our Tynne, our Led, and Hydes, beyond sea, should haue bene sould heere.

**Doctor.**

I cannot tell whether that should touch the league or no. nor whether any such league be: but I say to you hys I thinke it a maruaylous league that should let vs to make lawes to binde our owne subiects that might be profitable to the:

and if



and if there were any such league, I had leauer it were broken then kept, which being broken shoulde doe vs good, & being kept shoulde doe vs harime, and I suppose that when wee enter any league the same is ment to be for our weale, and not for our hinderance, wherefore that league would not be esteemed & might hinder our common weale.

No league is to be cherished that is not for the common weale.

What if they would make a like lawe beyonde the sea, that wares made within this realme shoulde not bee soule there, as they made of late, when wee deuised a lawe that no Wynes shoulde bee caried hether in straungers botomes.

Knighte

Yet shoulde they be enforced rather to dissolue their law then we ours, for our stuffe is necessary for them & is made here: as cloth, Leather, Beire, tallow, butter, cheese, pewter vessel &c. Theirs bee to vs more to serue pleasure then necessity: as Tables, Cardes, perfumed Gloues, Glasses, gally Pots, Dyalls, Dringes, Pippens, and Cherries: yee their chiefe commodities might be better spared of vs, the retayned of them, as wyne, silkes, spices, pyon, and Salt.

Doctor.

I would to God wee would followe but the example of a poore Hauen towne & I heard of it to do of late, heere in & Marches of Wales, called Carmarthen, when there came a certayne Vessel thether out of England all Laden with Appells, which afozetime was wont to brynge them good corne, the towne commaunded that nonne shoulde buy the sayd Appells vpon a great payne, and so the Bote stode so long in the Hauen without sale or vent till & Appells were putrified and lost. And when the owner demaunded of the Bayliffe of the towne, why he had stayed his sale and vent, the Bayliffe answered againe, that the sayd vessel came thether to fetch the best wares they had in the countrey, as Fryzes, brode Clothes, & wooll: and in steede thereof hee shoulde leaue the in their countrey but appells, that shoulde be spent & wasted in lesse then a weeke. And sayd brynge into

A vworthy example to be folloved in vsing of straungers.

## A briefe Conceipt

Of the coyne  
vvhat harme  
might haue  
grovvne of the  
alteration of it

vs corne or malt as yee were wont to doe, whereof y<sup>e</sup> coun-  
trei hath need, and yee shall be welcome at all times, & yee  
shall haue free vent and sale thereof in our Port: thinke  
yee that the cities of London, Southhampton, Bristowe,  
Chester and other more, might they not learne a good lesson  
of this poore Welch towne in this doing? Might not they  
say when shippes full of Oreniges, Pippens, or Cherries  
come in, that if they would agayne take Plummes, Damo-  
zins, and strawberries for them, they shoulde haue free ex-  
change: and when they bring in Glasses, Puppets, Rat-  
tles, and such like thinges, they shoulde haue like trifles for  
them, if any such were to bee had within this Realme, as  
there bee many: but if they come for our Woolles, for our  
Clothes, Kerseyes, Corne, Tinne, Ledde, yea our Golde,  
and siluer, and such substantiall and necessary thinges: let  
them bring in againe, Flax, Tarre, Dyles, Fyshe & such  
like. And not to vse them as men doe little Childzen, geue  
them an appell for the best Jewell y<sup>e</sup> they haue about them.  
And thus wee are empouerished of our treasure, & chiefe  
commoditie, and cannot perceaue it, such is the finenesse of  
straungers wits and the grossnes of ours: yet it were more  
tollerable if wee did no more but chearish their deuises y<sup>e</sup>  
be straungers: but we haue in times past deuised our selues  
many other wayes, to our owne impouerishment, and to  
exhaust our treasure. And now I must come to that thinge  
that you (brother Mercer) touched afoze, which I take to  
be the chiefe cause of all this dearth of thinges (in compa-  
rison of former times) and of the manifest impouerishinge  
of the Realme, and might in short time haue ben y<sup>e</sup> destruc-  
tion of the same, if it had not bene y<sup>e</sup> rather remedied, that  
is, the basing or rather the corrupting of our coyne, & trea-  
sure: whereby we deuised a way for the straungers, not on-  
ly to buy our Gold and siluer for brasse, and to exhaust this  
realme of treasure: but also to buy our chiefe commodities  
in man,



in maner for naught: yet it was thought this should haue  
beene a meane not onely to bryng our treasure home, but to  
bryng much of theirs: but the experience playnly declared  
the contrary, so that it were but a very Dullerdes parte  
now to be in any doubt thereof.

Forsooth and such a Dullerd am I in deede, that I can-  
not perceauē what hinderance it should be to the realme Knight.  
to haue this mettall moze then that (for our Coyne) seeing  
the Coyne is but a token to goe from man to man, & when  
it is stricken with þe Princes scale to be currant, what ma-  
keth it the matter what mettall it be made of: yea, though  
it were but Leather or paper.

You say but as most sort of men doe say, and yet they bee Doctor.  
farre wide from the trueth, as men that doe not cōsider the  
thinge groundly: for by that reason, God would neuer send  
dearth among vs, but the Prince might quickly remedy  
it. As if Coyne were at a Crowne a bushell, the Prince  
might prouide Crownes enow for him selfe and also his  
subiects, made of brasse to pay for the same, and so to make  
it as easy for him and his subiectes to pay a Crowne of such  
mettall for a bushell, as it should be for them now to pay a  
penny for the same: and as the pryce of Coyne doth rise, the  
Prince might raise the estimation of his coyne after the  
rate, and so keepe the coyne alwayes at one estate in deede  
though in name it should seeme to rise. As for example,  
suppose Wheate this yere to be at a grote a bushell, & the  
next yere at two grotes, the Prince might cause the grote  
to be called vii. d. and if the bushel rose to xii. d. the bushel,  
he might raise the estate of the grote to xii. d. and so whe-  
ther it were by making of coyne of other mettalles then  
be of pryce receaued among all men, or by enhaunsing the  
pryce of the olde coyne made in mettalles of estimation, the  
Prince might, if your reason were true, keepe alwaies not  
onely coyne, but also all other victualls and necessaries for  
mans

## A brieft Concept

mans life, alwayes at one price in deede, though in terme they should vary: but yee may see dayly by experience & contrary hereunto, for whē God sendeth dearth either of coyne or of other things, there is neither Emperoz nor King can help it, which they would gladly doe if they might, as well for their owne ease, as for their subiectes and might soone doe it, if your reason afore touched might take place: that is, if either they might make coyne of what estimation they would, of vile mettalls: or els enhaunce the value of coines made in mettalls of price, to what summe they would. Yet a man at the first blush would thinke that a Prince in his realme might doe this easily, & make what coyne he would to be currant and of what estimation it pleased him, but he that so thinketh marketh but the termes, & not the thinges that are vnderstanded by them, as if a man made no difference betwene vi. grotes that made an ounce of siluer, & xii. grotes that made in all but an ounce of Siluer: by the grote of the first sorte, the sixth parte of an ounce, and by a grote of the other sorte is the twelfth part of an ounce of siluer vnderstanded: and so there must be as much difference betwene the one grote & the other, as is betwene two and one, the whole thing & the halfe: though either of both be called but vnder one name, that is a grote: we must consider though gould & siluer be the mettalls commonly wherein the coyne is stricken to be the tokens for exchange of thinges, betwene man and man: yet it is the wares that are necessary for mans vse, that are exchanged indeede, vnder the outward name of the coyne: and it is the raritie & plenty of such wares, that makes the price thereof hier or baser. And because it were very combzous and chargeable to carry so much of the wares that we haue aboundance of, to exchange for the wares that we want, alwayes both for the weight of our wares, and also for that they could not be carried so

The substance  
and quantity is  
esteemed in  
coyne & not  
the name.



ried so farre without perishing of the same: nor proportioned so enē, as there should be always, neither more or lesse brought of our wares, the were equiuallēt to other wares that we receiue: the more were the mettalles of gold & siluer deuised, as wares of litle weight: most in value, & least combrous to carry: and least subiect to detriment or hurt in the cariage thereof. And may be cut and deuided in moste pieces and portions, without any losse, to bee as y mean in Clares to exchange all other wares by. And if the thing were to be new deuised, necessity would cause vs to deuise y same way againe. For put y case there were no vse of money amonge vs, but onely exchange of wares, for wares: as sometimes I do read hath ben: we might at a tyme haue such plenty of things in our realme, as for exāple of corne, wolles, & Felles: Cheese, & Butter, and such other commodities as were sufficient for vs, and there shoulde remaine with vs such great store, that wee could not spend it in our needes, nor keepe it longe without perishing. Would not we be glad to exchange that abundance of things, y could not abyde the longe keeping, for such wares y woulde abyde the keeping: which we mighte exchange againe for such wares, as I rehearsed: or any other as necessary, where scarcity of the same should happen amonge vs. Yea verely: wee shoulde study to haue in that exchange such wares as would go in least romth and continue longest without perishing, and be caried to and fro with least charge, & be most current at all times, and at all places. Is not Gold & Siluer, the thinges that be most of that sorte, I meane most of value, most light to be caried, longest able to abide the keeping, aptest to receiue any forme, marke, & moste current in all places, & most easely deuided into many pieces without losse of the stuffe: In some of these poynts I confesse precious Stones do excel both Siluer & Gold, as in value or lightnesse of cariage, but then, they may not be deuided

Aristo. lib. 5  
Eth.

That the necessity of mutual traffique and commodity of exchange made Coyne to bee deuised.

Hom. F. de  
emptione &  
vendicatione. Li. 1.

Why Gold & siluer were the stuffe most meete for coine to be stricken in.

# A brieffe Conceipte

Publicamē.  
sura Aristo.  
Eth.

without perishing of the substance, nor put agayne together, after they be once deuised, nor many of them abide so many daungers without perishing of the matter, nor yet receiue any marke or stampe easely, nor be so vniuersally esteemed: therefore they be not so meete for Instruments of Exchange, as Silver and Golde be, or els they for their pieces and lyghtnesse of cariage, might be. And because Gold and Silver haue all these commodities in them, they are chosen by common assent of the whole world, that is knowen to be of any ciuility, to be instruments of exchange to measure all things by, most apte to be either caried far or kepte in store, to receiue for thinges, whereof we haue abundance and to purchase by them agayne other thinges which wee lacke, when and where we haue most neede. As for example, if there were no coyne currāt, but exchange of thinges as I sayd sometime there was: let this case, that a Man had as much coyne in one yere as he could not well spend in his house in foure yeares after, and perceiued that hee myghte not keepe it so longe, or till a deare or skarse yere shoulde come, and if he did, much of it shoulde perish or all: were it not wisdomē for him then to exchange the ouerplus of that coyne, for some other ware that might be longer kept, without daunger of wast, or deminishing, for by which he myghte at all times haue either Coyne agayne at his neede, or some other necessarie thinge, Yeas no doubt, if there were no vse of Silver or Golde he would haue Tinne brasse, or Leadē or such other like thing that would abide the keeping with least detriment, and would desire to haue that thinge most, that were in least weight, most in value, and in leaste daunger of wearing or perishing, & moste vniuersally receiued, wherein Gold and Silver excelles all other mettalles.

Knighte.

What makes these Mettalles to bee of more value then other.

Doctor.

No doubt their excellencie aboue other mettalles both in plea-



in pleasure, and vse partly the rarity of them.

What be these qualities? If yee prayse the Gold for Knighe, his weight or plyablenes, Led doth exel it in these pointes: if yee commend his colour, Syluer by many mens iudgements (whose colour resembleth þ day lyght for his clerenesse) passeth him. And Herroldes preferres it in Armes, because it is furthest of seene in þ fielde, nor neuer seemes other colour but his owne, be it neuer so farre of: where all other shall seeme blacke farre of, and so loose the strengthe of theyr owne.

As much as the Led approcheth the Golde in that point I speake of weight and plyablenes, it is cast behinde it in other qualities farre more commendable, as in colour it either passeth Syluer by some other mens iudgements, because it resembles the colour of the celestiall bodie, as the Sunne and Starres being the most excellent thynges that cometh vnder the view of the bodily senses of man, or it is equivalent to it in armes. I know not how much it is esteemed, well I wote Wynces blase their armes most with that colour, whether it bee for excellency of the same, or for that they loue the mettall it is made of so wel, I cannot tel. But now to esteeme theyr other qualitties, Golde is neuer wasted nor consumed by fire: yea the more it is burned, the more puerer it is: which ye can say of none other mettalles. Then it weares not lesse by occupying, it defyleth not the thing it toucheth, as Syluer doth, with which ye may draw lynes, whych is a dec'aratiõ that the stuffe falleth away, albeit wyters do maruell that it should draw so black a line being of that brightnes and colour it self. Then there is no rust nor scurse þ diminisheth the goodnes or wasteth þ substance of Gold: it abides þ freating, and licours of Salt & Vinegar wout damage, which weareth any other thing: it needes no fire, ere it be made Golde as others require, it is Golde as soone as it is founde, it draweth without wooll,

Doctor.

Why Golde, & Syluer are cited afore al other mettalles.

# A brieft Conceipt

as it were Tull, it is easily spred in leaues of maruallous  
 thimes: yee may adorne or guild any other mettals with it,  
 yea Stones and Timber: it is also nothinge inferiour in  
 commodity of making vessels or other Instrumentes to sil-  
 uer, but rather puerer, cleaner, and more sweete to kepe a-  
 ny liquoz in. Next him approacheth Silver in commenda-  
 ons, as in clemmes, beauty, sweetenes, and lightnes. And it  
 serues not onely to make vessels and other instrumētcs, but  
 it is also sporne, but not without Tull, as Golde may bee,  
 though they could not doe it afozetime, but with Gold onely,  
 as I haue hearde, church Vestures were made onely of  
 Gold then, and now of late of this Silver being spon with  
 silke and guilte, they counterfeite the olde excelle of clothe  
 of Golde and tyllue. Now to speake of other mettals, yee  
 see what vles they serue for, whych if these were away  
 should be more esteemed. Then I tolde you the raritie  
 commendcs the sayd mettals of Golde and Silver, yet more  
 the this. For as they do excel in qualities, so Dame nature  
 seemes to haue layde them by in a further warde, then her  
 other giftes, to shew vs that all fayre things be rare, and  
 the fayrest thinges as they be hardest to be attained, so they  
 be most to be esteemed. If a Glasse (as Erasmus sayth wel)  
 were as rare as silver, it should be as deare as silver, and  
 not without cause: who could glase a Window with silver  
 so as he might keepe out the iniury of the weather, and yet  
 neuerthelesse receiue the commodity of the light through  
 the same to his house, as with glasse he might? And so I might  
 commend other things for their vse afoze Gold or Silver,  
 as Iron, & Steele, with whom yee may make better tooles  
 for many necessary vles, then with Gold or Silver: but for  
 the vles that we talke of, Silver and Golde do clearly ex-  
 cel al other mettals. I passe ouer that matter. Thus I haue  
 shewed some reason, why these mettals of Golde & Silver  
 are growen in estimation aboue other.



Why doe Kynges and Princes stricke these mettalles Knight.  
and other with a Coyne? but because they would haue that  
coyne of what value so euer it be, to beare the estate that it  
some pretendeth, which they did in vaine if they could make  
the mettall that beareth that, to be neither better nor worse  
in estimation. The I had as lief haue smal gaddes or plats  
of Siluer and Gold without any coyne at al, to go abroade  
from man to man for exchaunge.

Why Golde &  
Siluer were  
coined.

Surely the time was so (euen amonge the Romaines,  
when neither brasse, siluer nor golde was coined:) but were  
esteemed onely by the weight. And thereof to this day re-  
mayneth these vocables of coynes, as Libra, Pondo, Di-  
pondius, as Solidus, Denarius, wordes of waighes, that  
afterward were geue to coynes pretending same waights.

Doctor.

Plini lib. 33  
Cap. 3.

Also the common officers that waighed these rude mettals  
were called Libri pendes, wherof we haue mencion made  
in the Ciuile lawe: but because in great traffique & assembly  
of buyers, & such, it was tedious to tary for the weighing of  
these Mettalles and tryng: it was thought good that the  
Princes should strike those mettals with seueral markes,  
for the variety of the waights they were of, to assure the Re-  
ceiuer, the same to be no lesse then the weight it pretended.

Sometime  
brasse, siluer &  
Gold were,  
vweighed be-  
fore Coyne  
made.

As for playnet example, they strake the pounde weight with  
the marke of the pound, and two ounce with the marke of the  
ounce, and so after the variety of the waights of other pieces  
variable markes: wherby began the names of Coynes, so  
that the people needed not to bee troubled with the weigh-  
ing and tryng of euery piece, beinge assured by the marke  
of the Prince, that euery piece containned the weight that  
was signified by the marke set on euery one: the Princes  
credite was then such amonge their subiects as they doub-  
ted nothinge therein. As soone as they attempted to doe o-  
therwise, that is, to marke the halfe pound with the marke  
of the pound, & the halfe ounce with the marke of the ounce,

Inst. de test.  
ord. 5. 1.

## A brieft Concept

Why losse cometh of credence.

a while their credite made those coyne currant. As I read among y<sup>e</sup> Romaynes practized more then once, but assoone as it was espied, the two pieces of halfe poulds went no farther then y<sup>e</sup> one piece of a whole pound went before. And at length, as much as they wonne at the first, they lost at the last in payment of their rentes, customes, and duties. And so the nearer East, the further from West. And they consequently lost their credite: much like as I haue knowne certain townes in England to haue done which were wont to make their clothes of a certayne bredth and length, and to set their scales to the same, while they kept the rate truly, straungers did but looke on the scale, and receaue theyr ware, wherby these townes had great bent of theyr clothes and consequently prospered very well. Afterward some in these townes not contented with reasonable gaines continually, and desiring more. Deuised clothes of lesse lengthe, bredth, and goodnesse then they were wont to bee, and yet by the commendation of the scale to haue as much Money for the same as they had before for good clothes, and for a time they gat much, and so abased the credite of theyr Predecessors to theyr singuler Lucre, which was recompenced with the losse of theyr Posterity. For after these Clothes were founde faulty, for all their scales, they were not onely neuer the better trusted, but much lesse for theyr Seale: yea, though their Clothes were well made, for when theyr vntruth and falshood was espied, then no man woulde buy theyr clothes, till they were ensearched and unfoulded, regarding nothing the scale: and yet because they founde them vntrue in some parte, they mistrusted them in other: and so would geue lesse for those clothes, then for any other lyke hauing no Seales to the same, whereby the credite of the said townes was lost, and the townes vtterly decayed. Dyd ye not see, that our Coyne was discredited immediately vpon the alteration of it, in the late yeares of King Henry the



the eyghte, specially among Straungers, wherheuer before desired to serue vs afore all other Nations, at all our needes, for the goodnes of our Coyne: And then they would let vs haue nothing from them, but onely for our commodities: as Wooll, Felles, Tallow, Butter, Cheese, Tynne, and Ledde, & where before time, they were wont to bypge vs for the same either good Golde or siluer, or els as necessary commodities agayne, then they sent vs eyther such trifles as I spake of before: as Glasses, gally Wots, Tennice Balles, Papers, Orbeles, Brouches, Buttons, Dyalles, and such light ware, that standeth them in no charge or vse, or els (if it be true that I haue heard and as I tolde you in your eare before) they sent vs Brasse for our Treasure of Golde and siluer, and for our sayd commodities, I warrant you yee sawe no Golde nor Siluer broughte ouer vnto vs, as it was before vled, & no maruayle: to what purpose should they bring siluer or Golde thither, whereas the same was not esteemed: Therefore I haue heard say for a trnth, and I beleue it the rather to bee true because it is likely, that after that our Coyne was baled and altered: Straungers counterfeited our Coyne, & founde þ meanes to haue greate Passes of that transported hether, and here vttered it well for our olde Golde and siluer, as also for our chiefe commodities, which thinge I repute mee vnto you what inconuenience it might bring vnto this Realme, if it were suffered, in a small compasse of time:

What doe strangers send vs for our Treasure & chiefe commodities.

There be searchers that myght let that matter well ynough if they be true, both for staying of such false Coyne to come in, and of our old Coyne to goe forth.

Knight.

I sayd so to the man that tolde mee the same tale that I tolde you euen now. And he answered me, there were many wayes to deceaue the Searchers, if they were neuer so true, as by putting of the sayde Coyne in their shippes ballast or in some vesselles of Wyne or other Lyquor transported

Doctor.

How our olde coyne may bee transported, & the Prince or her officers not knowing of it.

ted ey.

# A brieft Conceipte

We deuise the  
rediest vway to  
driue away  
our treasure.

ted either vnto vs or from vs : then euery Creake in this Realme hath not searchers : And if they had, they bee not such saintes as would not bee corrupted for money. Besides this, was there not made proclamations that the olde coyne, specially of Golde, should not be currant here aboue such a ppyce : was not that the rediest way to driue away our golde from vs : euery thing will goe where it is most esteemed, and therefore our treasure went ouer in heapes.

**Knight.** I belieue well that these were meanes to exhaust y<sup>e</sup> olde treasure frō vs, which yee haue reiected: but how it should make euery thing so deare among our selues since y<sup>e</sup> time (as yee sayd it doth) I cannot yet perceiue the reason.

**Doctor.** Why : doe yee not perceiue that by reason hereof, wee payde dearer presently for euery thing that we haue from beyonde the Sea, then wee were wont to doe before :

**Knight.** That cannot be denied.

**Doctor.** By howe much thinke you :

**Knight.** By the thirde parte well maner of things.

**Doctor.** Must not they that buy deare, sell deare agayne their wares :

**Knight.** That is true, if they intend to thriue: for he that selleth good cheape & buyeth deare, shall neuer thriue.

**Doctor.** You haue your selfe declared the reason, why things w<sup>i</sup>n the Realme proued after y<sup>e</sup> time so deare : for wee must buy deare all things bought from beyond the sea, & therefore wee must sell agayne as deare our things, or els wee make ill bargaynes for our selues. And though that reason maketh it plaine, yet the experience of y<sup>e</sup> thing maketh it playner : for where yee say that euery thing bought beyond the sea, is commonly dearer by the thirde parte then it was: do yee not see y<sup>e</sup> same proportion rayled in our wares if it be not more :

Why things  
within the  
realme should  
be so deare.

**Knight.** What losse haue wee by this, when wee sell our commodities as deare as wee buy others :

I graunt



I graunte to one sorte of men, I accompt it no losse: yea to some other a Gayne more then any losse, and yet to some other sort a greater losse then it is profit to y<sup>e</sup> other: yea generally to the vtter impoverishing of the Realme, and weakening of the Queenes maiesties power exceedingly.

Knight.

I pray you what be those sorts that yee meane. And first of those that yee thinke should haue losse thereby:

Doctor.

I meane al these that liues by buying and selling for as they buy deare they sell thereafter.

Knight.

What is the next sort that yee say would win by it?

Doctor.

Many all such as haue takings or Fearnies in their owne manurance at the olde rent, for where they pay after the olde rate, they sell after the new: that is, they pay for their lande good cheape, and sell all things growing there of deare.

Some had  
gaynes by the  
alteration of  
the coyne.

What sorte is that which yee sayde should haue greater losse hereby, then these men had profit?

Knight.

It is all Noblemen, Gentlemen, and all other that liue either by a stented rent or Tappend, or doe not manure the ground, or doe occupy no liuing or selling.

Doctor.

I pray you peruse these sortes as yee did the other, one by one, and by course:

Knight.

I will gladly: firste the Noblemen, and Gentlemen: yea for the most part on the yerely reuenues of their lands and fees geuen them of the Prince. Then ye know be that may spend now by such reuenues and fees CCC.li. a yere, may not keepe no better port then his father, or any other before him, that could spend but nigh CC.li. and so yee may perceiue it is a great abatement of Mans Countenaunce, to take away the thirde parte of his liuing: and therefore gentlemen doe study so much the increase of their Lands and enhaunsing of their Rentes, and to take Fearnies, and pastures to their owne handes as yee see they doe, and all to seeke to maintayne their countenaunces as their predecess.

Doctor.

Who had losse  
by the altera-  
tion of Coine.

## A briefe Conceipt

for did, and yet they came thort there in. Some other seeing the charges of householde encrease so much, as by no prouision they can make it can bee holpen: geue ouer their houtholues and get them Chambers in London or aboute the courte, and there spend their time some of them with a seruauant or two, where he was wont to keepe thirty or forty persons daily in his house, and to doe good in the Countrey, in keeping good order and rule among his neighbors. The other sorte be euen Seruingmen, and men of Warre that hauing but their olde stented wages, cannot finde the felices there with as they might afore time, without rauen or spoile. And ye know xii. d. a day now will not go so far as viii. pence would afore time. And therefore yee haue men so euill willing to serue the Prince now a dayes, from y they were wont to bee. Also where xl. shillinges a yere was honest wages for a Peonien afore this time, and xx. pence a weeke boorde wages was sufficient, nowe double as much will skante beare their charge.

Knight.

That is longe of theyr excesse, aswell in Apparell as in fare, for now a dayes Seruingmen goe more costely in apparell, and looke to fare more daintely, then their masters were wont to doe in times past.

Doctor.

No doubt that is one great cause of the greater charge of householde. For I know when a Seruingman was content to go in a Kendall coate in Sommer, and a frise coate in winter: and with a plaine white hose make meete for his body: And with a piece of beefe or some other dishe of sodde meate all the weeke longe. Now he will looke to haue at the least for sommer a coate of the finest cloth that may bee gotten for money, and his Hosen of the finest Kersey, and that of some straung die: as Flaunders die, or french puke, that a Prince or great Lord can weare no finer, if he weare cloth. Then their coates halbe garden, cut, & stitched: and the breeches of their hose so drawn with silkes, that y

Of excesse in apparell and fare.

man ship



manſhip ſhall farre paſſe the price of the ſuffe. And this thing is not reſtrained as it ſhould be, but rather cheriſhed of the Maſters, on ſtriving with the other, who may bee moſt proude and whole retinue may goe moſt lauiſh & gay for a time of ſhewe, whereas through ſuch exceſſe they are ſayne all the reſt of the yere to keepe the fewer ſeruauntes. And ſo in exceſſe of meates, they fare at ſome tymes in the yere, that in the whole yere after they keepe eyther no houſes at all, or if they doe it ſhalbe very ſmal. Like exceſſes alſwell in apparell as in fare were uſed in Rome a litle before the declination of the Emperre, ſo as wiſe men haue thought it was occaſion of the decay thereof. And therefore Cato and diuerſe wiſe ſenatours at that time, would haue had lawes made for reſtrainte of ſuch exceſſes, and for that through the inſolencie of ſome, that maintained the contrary, ſame were not duly executed, much pride enſued there, and of pride diuiſion: and through diuiſion utter deſolation of the comon weale. I pray God this Realme may beware by that example ſpecially London the head of the emperre, where ſuch exceſſes (by reaſon the Wealth almoſt of this Realme is heaped by there, as the Corne of a field into a barn) be moſt uſed: for in other parties commonly of this Realme, the lawe of neceſſity keepes men in a good caſe for exceeding either in apparell or fare. I thinke wee were as much dread or more of our enemies, when our Gentlemen went ſimply, and our Seruingmen plainely, without Cuts or gardes bearing their heauy Swordes and Buckelers on their thighes in ſteed of cuts and Gardes and light daunſing Swordes: and when they rode carping good Speares in their hands in ſteed of white rods, which they cary now more like ladies or gentlewomen then men, all which delicacies maketh our men cleane effeminate & without ſtrength.

We may thanke our longe peace & quiet within þ realm that men be not forced to ride ſo ſtrong. It was a troblous

Knight

## A brieft Concept

worlds as well within the Realme as without, when men went and rode as you do speake.

Doctor.

In peace looke  
for vvarre.

What can you tell what time or how sone such a world may come again. Wise men do say, that in peace men must looke and prouide for warre, and in warre again for peace. If men might be alwaies sure of peace, then needed no mā to keepe men at all. But such it is otherwise, and that p. i. iniquitie of men is such, as they cannot bee longe wythoute Warre. And that we reckon heere in Englande our chiefe strength to be in our Seruingmen & yeomen, it were wise, dome to exercise them in tyme of peace somewhat wyth such apparell, fere and hardenes, as they muste needes sustayne in time of warre, then the same shall bee no nouelty to the when they come to it: and theyr bodies shall bee strong and harder to beare that, that they were somewhat accustomed withall afore. Let this that I say be of no credite, if detica- cie and tēdernes was not the most occasion of the subduing of the greatest Emppres that were.

Knight.

Surely ye say very wel and that which soundeth to good reason. I must needes a Lowe & I haue found true my selfe, for my men are so tenderly vscd in time of peace, that they can not away with any heavy armour in time of warre, but either shirts of Maille or Coates of linnen ragges, which a shotte may perhaps deceyue vs. Then what saye you by our buildinges that wee haue here in Englande of late dayes, far more excessiue then at any time heretofore. Doth not that impouerish the Realme & cause men to keepe lesse Houses?

Doctor.

I say that all these thynges be tokens & Ornamentes of peace, and that no doubte is cause of lesse Housholdes: sith the buildings and trimming of those houses spendes away that, that should be other wise spēt in household. But it doth not impo<sup>u</sup>erish the Realme at all, for all the expences of building<sup>g</sup> for the most part is spent amonges our selues & amonges



amonges our neighbouos and Countrey men: As amonges Carpenters, Masons, and Labourers, except men will fall to guilding or painting of these Houses. For in that much treasure may be spent, and to no vse. Also the Arses, Uterers, and Tapistry workes wherewith they bee hanged commonly, conueieth ouer into Flaunders & other straunge Countreys (where they be had from) much of our Treasure.

Of excess in building.

Syr, yet I must remember you of one thing more, which men do suppose to be a great occasion of the spendinge of the treasure abroad: & it is, where there is comen to þ crown of late yeares much lands by reason of Monasteries, colleges, and Chauntres dissolued, which men suppose hath bene the cause two maner of waies, that there is lesse treasure abroad in the Realme. One is because the reuenues of the layd places dissolued heretofore, were spent in the countrey and went from hand to hande there, for Wittayle, cloth and other thinges: and now are gone to one place out of þ countrey. Another is that diuers men whych had any ryches or wealth vttered the same, to buy peruelles of the layd dissolued landes lying comodities for them, whereby one way & other the whole riches of the countrey is sweeped away.

Doctor.

Trueth it is also, that it winged the countrey abroad for the time, and had kept it so still if the Kynge's Maestye had not disperled the same lands abroad among the in the countrey againe. but after þ his highnes departed with a great deale of those possessions, part by gift and part by sale: treasure hath and will encrease againe abroad, as much as euer it was, if it be not lettred by other meanes: so that I take þ to be no great cause of the dearth that we haue, for the soyle is not taken away, but the possession thereof is onely transferred from one kinde of persons to another.

Knight.

Then to retourne to the matter of the Coyne where wee

I s.

left

## A briefe Conceipte

est. I haue heard your conceipte how the alteration thereof, within our Realme did some Men no harme, as Buyers and sellers: some other it dyd good vnto, as Farmors that had Lande at the olde Rent: and some other as Gentlemen, men of warre, seruants, and all other luying by any rated or stented rent or stipend, were great losers by it. But I heard you say it was so much withall to the losse of the Prynce, that it might be to the great perill of the whole Realme in processe of time. I meruayle how it shoulde bee so, for I hearde wise men say, that the Queenes hignesse Father did winne inestimable great summes, by the alteration of the Coyne:

**Doctor.** So it was for the time, but I liken that gaines to such as men haue when they sell away their Lands, to haue the greater some at one time, and euer after to loose the continuall increase what shoulde grow therof. For you knowe al the treasure of this Realme, must once in few yeares come to the Prynces handes by one meanes or other, and from thence it shoulde goe abroad againe to the Subiects. As all Springes runneth to the Ocean Sea, & out of it are they spred abroad againe: then as they came into þ kings coffers at the first in good mettall, they came forth in such as you haue heretofore seene. And albeit it seemeth at þ first viewe to empouerishe but the subiects only, at length it empouersitheth also the Prynce: and then if the Prince shoulde want in time of warre, specially sufficient treasure to pay for armor, weapons, tacklings of shippes, gunnes, and other artillery necessary for þ warre, and could by no meanes haue of the subiectes wherewith to buy þ same, what cause shoulde the Realme be in? Surely in very euill, & therefore these Coynes and Treasure be not without cause called of wyse men, Nerui bellorum (þ is to say) the Synowes of Warre. And that is the greatest danger that I doe consider, shoulde growe for want of treasure to the Prince and the Realme.

fo.

How the alteration of the Coyne should be most losse to the Prince.



for though a Prince may haue what coyne he will currant within his Realme, yet the straungers cannot be compelled to take them. And I graunt, if men might liue within themselves, all together without borrowinge of any other thing outwarde, we might deuise what coyne we woulde: but since wee must haue neede of other and they of vs, wee must frame our things not after our owne phantasies, but to followe the common market of all the worlde: and wee may not set the price of things at our pleasure, but followe the price of the vniuersall Market of the World. I graunt also that Brasle hath bene coyned ere this: yea & Leather in some places. But euer I reade, that was at an extreme neede, which thinge is not to bee followed as an example, but to be eschewed as longe as possible may be. And if our treasure be farre spent and exhaust (as it hapened in the later yeares of Kinge Henry the eight) I could wish that any other order were taken for the recouery of it, then the deprauing of our coines, which serueth the Prince but a litle while, for some present shifte, and hindred him a longe time afterwarde. I am perswaded that within our Realme treasure might bee soone recouered by these two meanes: first if we forbade the bringing in and selling of so many trifles as I beforeherfed to be brought vs from beyond the sea, & that nothing made beyond the sea of our owne commodities should be sold heere. And secondly, if we forbade that none of our commodities should passe vnwrought ouer sea, which being wrought here and sold ouer should bring in infinite treasure in shorthe time.

Many and there pee bee contrary to the opinions of many a great wise man, which thinke it better that all our wooll were sold ouer so vnwrought, then any Clothiers should be set a worke withall, within this realme.

That were a straunge thing in myne opinion, that any man should thinke so, and what should mooue them to le  
of that

Knight.

Doctor.

# A briefe Conceipte

**Knight.**

Whether all  
our Woll  
were expedit  
to be sould o-  
uervaynrough:

of that oppinion I pray you:

I will tell you. They take it that all insurrections & vp-  
roares for the most parte, do rise by occasion of these clothi-  
ers: for when clothiers lack vent ouer sea, then is a great  
multitude of these clothiers idle: And whē they be idle, thē  
they assemble in companies and murmur for lack of liuing  
and so picke one quarrell or other to stirre the poore comi-  
nalty that bee as idle as they, to a commotion. And some-  
times by occasion of warres there must needes bee some  
stay of Clothes, so as they cannot haue alwayes lyke sale or  
vent: at euery which time if the sayd Clothiers should take  
occasion of commotiō, they thinke it were better that there  
were none of them in the Realme at all, and consequently  
that y<sup>e</sup> woll were vttered vnwrought ouer sea, then to haue  
it wrought here.

**Doctor.**

So it may seeme to them that considereth one inconueni-  
ence, and not another. Surely whosoever hath many Per-  
sons vnder his Gouvernaunce, shall haue much a doe to go-  
uerne them in quietnesse: and hee that hath a greate family  
shall haue sometimes trouble in ruling of them. It were  
but a meane Policy eyther for a Prince to diminishe hys  
number, for a Master of a House to put away hys Ser-  
uaunts, because he would not haue any trouble with the go-  
uernaunce of them: he that would so doe, might be well re-  
sembled to a man that should sell his land because he would  
not bee troubled with the accompt of it. I thinke it meete  
that we did not onely encrease y<sup>e</sup> seate of clothing, but also  
intend diuers other mo seates and occupations, whereby our  
People might bee set a worke, rather then take away a-  
ny occupation from them: specially such as clothinge is,  
that setteth so many thousandes a worke, and enryche  
both Towne and Countrey. Where it is occupied in  
Venice, as I haue heard, and in many other places beyond  
Sea, they rewarde and chearish euery man that byngs in

any



any newe Arte, or misterye, whereby the people might be  
 set a worke, with such thinges as shoulde both finde their  
 workemen, and also bring some treasure or other commodi-  
 tie into the Countrey. And shall we contrary with laboure  
 to destroy our best and most profitable trade, which is by  
 clothing? I would know what thinge els might bringe us  
 treasure from straunge parties, or wherewith shoulde so  
 many of our people be set a worke, as haue nowe their ly-  
 uings by clothing, if that occupacion were layde downe?  
 May wee might haue treasure ynough from outward  
 Parties for our Woolles, though none were wroughte  
 within the Realme: And as for an Occupation, to set our  
 Clothiers a worke, they mighte bee set to the plough and  
 husbandry, and that shoulde make husbandry to be the more  
 occupied, & grasing lesse, when all these people that nowe  
 doe occupy clothing, shoulde fall to husbandry.  
 As to the first that yee sayd that Woolle is sufficient to  
 bring in treasure: if it were (as it is not in deede) yet that  
 Feate were not for the Weale, nor for continuance of the  
 Realme. For when every man would fall to breede sheepe  
 and to increasc Woolle, and so at length all other occupa-  
 tions shoulde bee set a side, and breedinge of sheepe onely oc-  
 cupied, then yee knowe that a fewe sheepe maisters would  
 serue for a whole Realme: & so in processe of time the multi-  
 tude of the subiects shoulde be worne away, and none left  
 but a fewe Shepherds, which were no number sufficient  
 to serue the Prince at neede, or to defende this realme from  
 Enemies. As to the other parte of your tale, whereby yee  
 woulde that these Clothiers shoulde fall from that occupa-  
 tion to husbandry: how coulde so many added to them that  
 occupy husbandry already, get their lyuinge by the same,  
 when they that bee husbandmen nowe, haue but a small  
 Lyuinge thereby. And if yee woulde say to mee that  
 they shoulde haue at all times, free vent and full Sale of  
 their

Mysteries are  
 to be increase  
 rather than di-  
 minished.

Knighte.

Doctor.

## A brieft Concept

their corne ouer sea, then commeth the same inconuenience in that ye thought to auoide before, by putting them from clothing. For some yerres it should happē either for warres or by reason of plente in all partes beyond the Sea, that they should haue no vent of their corne, and then be dyuen to be idle, and consequently for lacke of liuing to assemble together, and make like vyroares as ye spake of before.

They haue in Fraunce more handy craftes occupied, and a greater multitude of Artificers, then we haue here by a greate deale, and for all that they haue made many greate sturres and commotions there before this, yet they will not destroy Artificers: for they know by the highest Wyntes of them all, without such artificers could not maintaine their estate. Doe not all they? toules, customes, taxes, callages, and subsidies chiefly growe by such artificers? What king can maineteine his estate with his yearly reuenues onely growing of his landes? For, as many seruantes in a house well set a worke, gaines euery mā somewhat to their master: So doth euery artificer in a Realme ech gaine somewhat, and altogether, a great masse to the king & his realm euery yeare it byingeth.

! Knight.

Three sortes of  
Artificers.

One bringeth  
out our Treas-  
ure.

And now because we are entred into communication of artificers, I will make this diuision of them. Some of them doe but conuey money out of the countrey: Some other, that which they get, they doe spend againe in the countrey. And the third sorte of Artificers is of thē that doe bring in Treasure into the countrey. Of the first sorte I reckē all mercers, Grocers, Vintners, Haberdashers, Pilleners, and such as doe sell wares growing beyond the sea, and do fetch out our treasure for the same, which kinde of artificers as I reckē them tollerable, yet not so necessary in a common Weale, but they might be best spared of all other. Yet if we had not other Artificers to bringe in as much treasure as they doe



carp forth, we should be greace loosers by them. Of the se-  
cond sorte bee these Schoomakers, Tailours, Carpenters,  
Walons, Splers, Bouchers, Brewers Bakers, and Wit-  
tailers of all sortes, which like as they get their living in  
countrey, so they spend it: but they bring in no treasure  
to vs. Therefore we must chearish well the third sorte. And  
those be Clothiers, Tanners, Tappers, and Woollenma-  
kers, onely that I knowe, (which by their miseries & fa-  
culties) do bring in any treasure. As for our wolles, felles,  
Linne, Ledde, Butter and Cheese, these be commodities  
that the ground beares, requyrring the industrie of a fewe  
persons, and if wee shoulde onely trust to such and deuyse  
nothing els to occupy our selues with a few persons would  
serue for the rearing of such thinges, and few also it would  
finde: and so should our realme be but like a grange, better  
furnished with beastes then with men, whereby it mighte  
be subiecte to the spoile of other nations: aboute whiche is  
the moze to be feared and eschued, because the countrey of  
his owne kinde is apte to bringe forth such thinges as bee  
for encrease of cattell, then for such thinges as be for nou-  
rishment of men. If Pomponius Mela be to be beleueu,  
which describing this Islande sayeth thus. Plana, ingens,  
& ferax sed eorum, que pecora, quam homines benignius  
alant. That is to say, it is playne, large, & plentifull. But  
of these thinges that nourisheth Beastes moze kindly then  
men. So many Forrestes, Chales, Parkes, Marshes, and  
waste groundes being moze here, then most commonly el-  
where, declare the same. not to bee all in vayne, that bee  
affirmes. It hath not so much erable Grounde, Lynes,  
Olyues, Fruites, and such as bee both most necessary for  
the foode of men. And as they requyre many hands in their  
culture, so they finde most persons foode, as Fraunce and  
diuers other Countreies haue. Therefore as much groude  
as is

A nother, sped  
that they get  
in the same  
countrey as  
gayne.

The third sorte  
bring in Trea-  
sure, and there  
fore must be  
cherished.

Pomp. Mel.

# A brieft Conception

as is here apte for these things would be tourned as much as may be to such uses as may finde most persons. And neuer that townes and Cities would be replenished with all kinde of Artificers, not onely clothiers, which is as it were our naturall occupation, but with Tappers, Glouers, Paper-makers, Glaziers, Paynters, Golde-Smithes, blacke-Smithes of all sortes, Couerlet-makers, needle-makers, pinners and such other, so as we should not onely haue inough of such thinges to serue our Realme and saue an infinite treasure that goeth now ouer for many of the same: but also might spare of such thinges ready wrought to be sold euer, whereby we should fetch againe other necessary commodities or treasure. And this should both replenish the Realme of People able to defende it, and also saue & winne much treasure to the same. Such occupations alone do enrich diuers countreies that be else baren of themselves.

Mysterie doe  
enrich coun-  
ties that be  
else baren,

And what riches they bring to the Countries where they be well used, the Countrey of Flaunders, and Germanie do well declare, where through such occupations it hath so many, & eke so wealthy Cities: & it were almost incredible so litle ground to sustaine so much people. Wherefore in my minde they are far wiser of right consideration, & would haue either none or els lesse clothing in this Realme, because it is some time occasion of busines & tumultes, which cometh for lacke of vent. There is nothing euery way so commodious or necessary for mans use, but it is sometimes by ill handling occasion of some displeasure, no not fire and water that be so necessary as nothing can be more.

Knight.

Pea master Doctor we stand not in like case as Fraunce or Flaunders that pee speake of: if they haue not vent one way, they may haue it another way allwaies, for the firme land is rounde about them in maner. If they bee at warre with one Neighbour they will bee friends with another.

to whole



to whole Countreys they may sende their commodities  
to sell. And so may wee bee, if wee were so simple, to keepe one  
friende another alwayes in hande. Who will bee so mad  
being a private man, but hee will be sore to doe so. Let  
wyle men consider what friends this Realme hath had  
in time past. And if they bee nowe lost or intercepted, an-  
other waye, let vs purchase other for them: or elsenge  
as litle occasion of breache with our Neighbour as may  
bee. The Wyle man as I remeber, sayth in Ecclesiastes:  
Non est bonum homini esse solum.

Doctor.

Aliaunce with  
strangers are  
to be purchased  
and kept.

Also in Fraunce they haue diuerse Bandes of men in  
Armes, in diuerse places of the Realme, to repress such  
tumults quickly if any should arise. If wee had the like  
heere, wee might bee bounde to haue as many Artificers  
as they haue.

Knight.

Whether great  
Armies bee as  
necessary heere  
as in Fraunce.

God smother, that euer wee should haue any such  
Tyrantes come among vs: for as they say, such will in the  
Countrey of Fraunce take poore mens Wennes, Chickens,  
Pigges, and other provision, and paye nothinge for it. Ex-  
cept it bee an ill turne, as our Rauthe bys Wife, or his  
Daughters for it and euen in like manner, say the Mar-  
chaunt man adding thereto, that hee thought that would  
rather bee an occasion of Commotions to bee stirred then  
to bee quenched. For (as hee sayd) the Frenchmen of En-  
glishe men would neuer beare to suffer such Injuries and  
Remothes, as hee heard that such did to doe to the Sub-  
jects of Fraunce, which in reproche they call Delaunts.

Husband.

Marchaunt.

May the Prynce might restrayne them well ynough,  
for doing Outrages upon great paynes.

Knight

What if it were skant in his power to do the Romaines  
had sometimes such men of armes in diuerse places for de-  
fence of the Emperre, it was thought, that at length it over-  
threw.

Doctor.

# A brieft Concept

I praye the same. Julius Caesar both that vedate: and ma-  
 ny times after that, when the Emperors died, the men of  
 warre created what Emperors they liked, sometime of a  
 slaue or a Dominican contrary to the election of the Se-  
 nate of Rome, beinge their Collesiors of the Emperre, till  
 the whole Emperre was cleane destroyed: it is not for con-  
 motions of Subiects, that France also keepeth such: but  
 the state and necessity of the Countrey which is environed  
 about with enemies, and neither sea nor wall betwene the,  
 against whose Inroades and invasion they mayntayne the  
 mē of warr of necessity. They would faine lay the downe,  
 if they durst for feare of their neighbours. And some wyle  
 men among them haue sayd and written, that the same mē  
 of armes may bee the destruction of their Kingdome at  
 length. And beside that the largenesse of our Dominion,  
 or Situation of the same towarde other Countreies, doth  
 not require such men, nor yet the reuenues of this realme  
 is able to make vp a like number with France. And then  
 if we should make a lesse number, wee should declare our  
 selfe inferior in power to France, to whom we haue  
 bene hitherto counted superiour in strength, though the  
 Nobilitie of our Englishe barres. And therefore I would  
 not haue a small sore cured by a greater griefe, nor for a  
 moppinge of populer sedition, which happeneth very so-  
 dome and soone quenched, to bring in a continuall poake &  
 charge both to the Prince and the people.

A lesse griefe  
 would not be  
 holpen with a  
 greater sore.

Knighte.

You say well, and so as I can say no more against your  
 sentence, but yet I would wishe your sayinge could suffice  
 other men as well as to both mee.

Doctor.

Well, it is now time to make an ende. I haue trou-  
 bled you heere with a tedious and longe talke.

Knight.

Marchaunt.

& Capper.

I could be content to be troubled longer of that sort.  
 And so conlude we, though it were all this while  
 troubling of your selfe gentle maister Doctor.

Yet the



But the most necessary poynts which we speake of is yet **Knightes** behinde, that is, how these thinges may be remedied: And therefore we will not goe from you, till wee haue hearde your aduise herein.

A Gods name, I will lette my phantasie in that part: Doctor.  
But let vs first goe to supper. And so wee went together  
to our Supper, where our Hoste had prepared honestly  
for vs.



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A briefe Concept  
**THE THIRD DIA-**  
logue, wherein are deuised

*some remedies for the same  
griefes.*

Knight.



Fter wee had well  
refreshed our selues at supper, I  
thought long til I had knowne  
Iudgement of myster Doctoꝝ, a-  
bout the remedies of the thinges  
aboue remēbred, how he thought  
they might bee best redressed, and  
with least daunger oꝝ alteration of  
things. (And therefore I sayd vn-

do him thus:) Since pee haue declared vnto vs (good mai-  
ster Doctoꝝ) our diseases and also the occasions thereof, we  
pray you leaue vs not destitute of conuenient remedies for  
the same. You haue perswaded vs full, and wee perceauē  
it well our selues, that wee are not now in so good state as  
wee haue bene in times past. And you haue shewed vs pro-  
bable occasions that hath brought vs to that case, therefore  
now wee praye you shewe vnto vs, what nighte remedye  
these our griefes.

Doctor.

When a man doth perceauē his griefe, and the occasion  
also of the same, hee is in a good way of amendment. For  
knowing the occasion of the griefe, a man may soone auoide  
the same occasion: and that being auoyded, the griefe is al-  
so taken away. For as the Philosopher sayth: Sublata  
causa tollitur effectus. But let vs bꝛiefly recount þ griefes  
and then the occasions thereof, and thirddly goe to the inqui-  
sition of the remedies for the same. First this vniuersall  
dearth,



dearth in comparison of y<sup>e</sup> former age, is y<sup>e</sup> chiefest griefe y<sup>e</sup> all men complaines most on. Secondly Inclosures, & turning of erable Grounde to pasture. Thirdly decayinge of Townes, Towneshippes, and Villages, and last deuision & diuersitie of opinions in religion. The occasions or causes of these, although I haue before diuersely declared after the diuersitie of mens myndes and opinions. Yet heere I wyll take out of the same, But only such as I thinke verely to be the very iust occasions in deede. For as I shewed you before, diuers men diuersly iudge, this or that to be the cause or occasion of thys or that greife, and because there may be diuers causes of one thinge, and yet but one p<sup>r</sup>yncipal cause that byngeth forth the thinge to passe: Let vs seeke oute y<sup>e</sup> cause, omitting all the meane causes, whych are diuen forward by the least or y<sup>r</sup>iginall cause. As in a presse going in at a straight, the foremost is diuen by him that is nexte hym, & the next by him that followes him, and the thyrde by some violent and stronge thinge that bynes hym forward, which is the first and p<sup>r</sup>yncipall cause of the puttynge forward of the rest afoze him. If he were kept backe and staid, al they that goe afoze would stay withal. To make this more plain vnto you: as in a clocke there be many wheeles, yet the first wheele being styred it byneth the next, and that the thyrde &c. till the last that mones the Instrumēt that styckes the clock. So in making of an house, there is the Dayster that would haue the house made, there is the Carpenter, & there is the stuffe to make the house with al: y<sup>e</sup> stuffe neuer stirres till the Clokeman do set it forward, the workeman neuer trauailes but as y<sup>e</sup> maister prouoketh him w<sup>th</sup> good wages, and so he is the p<sup>r</sup>yncipall cause of thys house making. And this cause is of y<sup>e</sup> learned called efficient: as that, y<sup>e</sup> byngeth the p<sup>r</sup>yncipal thing to effect. Perswade this man to let this buildyng alone, and the house shall neuer come to passe, yet the house can not bee made w<sup>th</sup>out the stuffe, and worke-

The originall  
cause in euery  
thing is to be  
searched.

# A brieft Conceipte

Diuerſe ſortes  
of cauſes there  
bee.

Cic: top.  
Lib. 5.

Sublata cau-  
ſa tollitur  
effectus.

men, and therefore they be called of ſome cauſe ſine quibus  
non, and of ſome other Materiales, & Formales, but all  
commeth to one purpoſe. It is the efficient cauſe, & is, the  
principall cauſe, without removing of which cauſe & thing  
that cannot be remedied. And becauſe that it was graſſed in  
euery mans iudgement, & the cauſe of any thing being taken  
away, the effecte is taken away withall. Therefore Men  
tooke the cauſes of theſe thynges that we talke of wythout  
Iudgement, not diſcerning the principall cauſe from the  
meane cauſes, that by taking away of theſe cauſes that bee  
but ſecondary as it were, they were neuer the neare to re-  
medy the thing they went about. Much lyke the wyfe of A-  
iax that loſt her huſband in & ſhippe called Argos, wiſhed &  
thoſe firre beames had neuer bene felled in Peleus wood,  
whereof the ſayd ſhippe was made, when that was not the  
efficient cauſe of the looſing of her huſbande, but & wild fire  
caſt in the ſaid ſhippe, which did ſet it a fyre. Such cauſes as  
they be, be called remote, as it were to farre of: ſo they bee  
alſo idle and of no operation of themſelues, without ſome  
other to ſet them a worke. And percaſe I (whyle I degreſſe  
ſo farre from my matter) ſhalbe thought to goe as far from  
the purpoſe, yet to come to our matter, and to apply thys &  
I haue ſayde to the ſame. Some thinkes this Dearth be-  
ginnes by the tenaunt in ſelling his wares ſo deare: & ſome  
other by the Lord in reſping his land ſo high. And ſome by  
theſe incloſures. And ſome other by the reſping of our coine  
or atteration of the ſame. Therefore ſome by taking ſome  
one of theſe things away (as theyr opinion ſerued them to  
be the principall cauſe of this dearth) thought to remedye  
this dearth, But as the tryall of the thyng ſhewed they tou-  
ched not the cauſe efficient principall: and therefore theyr  
deuiſe tooke no place: and if they had, the thinge had ben re-  
medied forthwith, for that is proper to the principall cauſe  
that as ſoone as it is taken away the effect is remoued alſo.

De



Yet I confesse al these thinges rayseth together with this  
 dearth, that euery of them should seeme to be the cause of  
 it: neuerthelesse that is no good prooffe that they should bee  
 the causes of it, no more then was the steeple made at Dou-  
 uer, the cause of the decay of the Hauen of Douer, because  
 the Hauen began to decay the same time, that the Steeple  
 began to be builded. Nor yet, though some of these because  
 of the other in dedde, yet they be net all the efficient causes  
 of this dearth. But as I haue sayd before of men thrusting  
 one another in a thronge one dyuing another, and but one  
 first of al, that was the chiefe cause of that force: So in this  
 matter that we talke of, there is some one thing that is the  
 originall cause of these causes, that be as it were secondary  
 and makes them to be the causes of other. As I take y<sup>e</sup> ray-  
 sing of al pryses of victuals at y<sup>e</sup> husbandmans hand, is cause  
 of the rayling of y<sup>e</sup> rent of his land. And y<sup>e</sup> Gentlemen fall so  
 much to take fearmes to theyr hands least they bee dyuen  
 to buy theyr pouision to deare, that is a great cause againe  
 that Inclosure is the more vled: For Gentlemen hauinge  
 much land in their hand and not being able to weilde all &  
 see it manured in husbandry, which requyrez the industry  
 labour and gouernaunce of a greate many of persons, doe  
 conuerter mooste of that Lande to Pastures, wherein is re-  
 quyred both lesse charge of Persons, and of the which ne-  
 uerthelesse commeth more cleare gaines. Thus one thynge  
 hanges vpon another, and sets forwarde one another, but  
 one first of all is y<sup>e</sup> chiefe cause of all this circuler motion &  
 impulsion. I shewed ere whyle, that y<sup>e</sup> chiefe cause was not  
 in the husbandman, nor yet in y<sup>e</sup> Gentleman. Let vs see whe-  
 ther it were in the marchaunt man. It appeareth by reason  
 that all wares bought of him are dearer now far then they  
 were wont to be, the husbandman is dyuen to sel his com-  
 modities dearer: now y<sup>e</sup> the matter is brought to maister mar-  
 chaunt, how can yee auoyde the cause from being in you?

How one  
 thing is cause  
 of another, &  
 that of the  
 third,

# A brieft Conceipt

**Marchaunt.** Sir easily ynough, for as wee sell now dearer al thinges then wee were wont to do: So wee buy dearer all thinges of straungers: and therefore let them put the matter from vs, for we will disburden our selues of this fault.

**Doctor.** And they be not here to make aunswere, if they were, I woulde aske them why they sell their wares dearer nowe then they were wont to doe?

**Marchaunt.** Mary and to that I hearde many of them aunswere ere this (when they were asked that question) two manner of wayes. One was they selled in deede no dearer then they were wont to do: saying for prooffe thereof, that they would

The straungers  
aunswere touch-  
ing this  
dearth.

take for theyr commodities, as much and no more of our commodities then they were wont to do. As for our tode of woll they would giue as much Wylne, Spice or Silke as they were wont to geue for so much. Pea for an ounce of our siluer or golde, as much stuffe as euer was geuen for y same. And their other answere was y if we reckened they did sell their wares dearer because they demaunded moe pieces of our coyne for the same then they were wont to do, that was not their fault they saide but oures, that made our pieces lesse or lesse worth then they were in times past. Therefore they demaunded the moe pieces of them for their Wares: saying, they cared not what names wee woulde giue oure coynes, they would consider y quantity & right value of it, that they were esteemed at euery where throughe y world.

**Knight.** Then I would haue answered the there of this sorte. If they came hether but for our commodities, what made it y matter to them, what quantity or value our coyne were. If so they might haue as much of our commodities for y same as they were wont to do. If they came againe for our siluer and golde, It was neuer lawfull, nor yet is expedient they should haue any from vs. Therefore I would thinke that was no cause why they should sell theyr wares dearer then they were wont to doe.

Then



Then he might haue answered againe, that it chaunced not all wayes together, that when they had wares which we wanted, we had againe al those wares y<sup>e</sup> they looked for. And therefore they hauinge percase moze wares necessary for vs, then we had of such wares as they looked for, would be glad to receiue of vs such stuffe currant in most places, as might buy that they looked for else where at their pleasure: And that they will say was not our coyne. And as for our lawes of not transporting ouer sea any Gold or siluer, they passed not thereof, so they mighte haue the same once conueyed thē. As they had many waies to haue it so, which I haue before remembred. Finally hee might say that we had not in deede our coyne in that estate our selues, that by the name they pretended, but esteemed both the value & quantity of the stuffe it was made of. For if they had brought vnto vs halfe an ounce of siluer, wee would not take it for an ounce: nor if they brought vs brasse mingled with siluer, we would not take it for pure siluer, and if wee would not take it so at their handes, why shoulde they take it otherwise at ours? Then they saw no man heere but would rather haue a cup of siluer thē of brasse, no not the maister of our mints though they would otherwise perswade, the one to be as good as the other. Wherefore seing vs esteeme the one in deede better then the other, as all the world doth beside, why shoulde they not esteeme our coine after y<sup>e</sup> quantity and value of the substance thereof, both after the rate it was esteemed amonge vs, & also euery other where? And so as in moe pieces now there is but the value that was in fewer pieces afore, therefore they demaunded greater number of pieces, but yet the like value in substance that they were wont to demand for their wares. Now let vs see whether now goeth the cause of this matter: from the straungers: For me thinkes he hath reasonably excused himselfe & put it from him.

## A brieft Conceipte

**Knight.** By your tale it must bee in the coyne, and consequently in the Kinges highnes by whose commaundement y<sup>e</sup> same was altered.

**Doctor.** Yea per case it goes further yet: yea to such as were the first counsaillours of that deede, pretending it should bee to his highnes greate and notable commoditie, whych if bys grace mought haue perceiued to haue ben but a momētain profit, and continuall losse both to his highnes and also his whole Realme. Yee with his people might haue ben easily reuoked againe, from y<sup>e</sup> practise of that simple deuise. But as a man that entendeth to heale an other by a Medicine y<sup>e</sup> he thinketh good, though it proue otherwise, is not much to be blamed: no more was the kinges maiesty in any wyse, (in whose time this was don, which is not to be supposed to haue intended thereby any losse, but rather commoditie to him selfe and his subiects) to be herein reprehended, albeit the thing succeeded beside the purpose.

**Knight.** Then yee thinke plainly y<sup>e</sup> this alteration of y<sup>e</sup> coine was the chiefe and principall cause of this vniuersall dearth?

**Doctor.** Yea no doubt, and of many of y<sup>e</sup> sayd grieues that we haue talked of, by meanes it beinge the originall of all, and that beside the reason of the thing beinge plaine inough of it selfe also experience & prooue doth make it more playne. For euen with y<sup>e</sup> alteration of y<sup>e</sup> coyne began this dearth, and as the coyne appayred so rose the prices of thinges with all: & this to be true, y<sup>e</sup> few pieces of olde coyne which afterwarde remained, did testifie: for yee should haue for any of y<sup>e</sup> same coyne as much of any ware either outward or inward as euer was wont to be had for the same. For as the measure is made lesse, there goeth more number to make by the tale, and because this rayled not together at all mens handes, therefore some hath greate losses, and some other greate Gaynes thereby, and that made such a generall grudge for the thinge at the firste time. And thus to conclude

I thinke

That the alteration of the coyne vvas the very cause of this dearth and consequently of other griefs euer since that time.



I thinke this alteration of þe Coine to haue ben þe first originall cause, that straungers first sould their wares dearer to vs, and that made all Farmors, and Tenaunts, that reared any comodity agiane to sell þe same dearer. The Dearth thereof made the Gentlemen to rayse their rents, & to take Farmes to their handes for their better prouision, and consequently, to inclose more Groundes.

If this were the chiefeest cause of the dearth, as of very Knight. good probability (by you maister Doctor) heeretofore alleaged, it should seeme to be: how cometh it to passe (where as you say, if the cause be remoued, the effect is also taken away) that the pyces of all thinges fall not backe to theyr olde rate, whereas now long sithence our english royne (to the great honour of our noble Princeesse which now raighneth) hath bene again thoroughly restored to his former purity and perfection?

In deede sir. I must needes confesse vnto you (although Doctor, it may seeme at the first sighte to discredite my former sayinges in some parte) that notwithstanding that our Roine at this present day, yea and many yeares past, hath recouered his aunciente goodnesse, yet the dearth of all thynges, which I before affirmed to haue proceeded of the decay thereof, to remayne and continue still amongst vs. Wherefore as your doubt herein moued very aptly, and to þe purpose, is well worthy the consideration: so doe I accompte it of such difficultie, þe perhaps it would not be thought to stande wth modesty, to undertake without farther study presently to dissolue the same.

Syr, I pray you for this time omit the pleadinge of modesty. I vnderstand wel ynough by your former talke, that you are not vnprouided of sufficient store (without farther deliberation) to satisfie vs withall, in greater matters (if neede were) then these. Knight.

Well, I am content (because you wyll haue it so) to Doctor. peeke

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yeeloe to your importunity. I will vtter frankly vnto you myne Opinion herein, but vnder protestation, that if you like it not, yee reiect it, imparting likewise with mee your owne Phantasies and Iudgements in the same. I fynde therefore two speciall causes in myne Opinion, by meanes of the which, notwithstanding þ restitution made in our coine, the aforesayd dearth of things (in respect of the former age) remayneth yet among vs. The first is, that whereas immediately after the basenesse of our Coyne in the time of kynge Henry the eight, þ prices of all things generally among all sorts of people, rose: it must needes happen here withal (as yee know) that our gentlemen which liued onely vpon þ reuenues of their lands, were as neare or nearer touched (as is before proued) with the smarte hereof, then any other of what order or estate so euer. Thys therefore being take as most true, the Gentlemen desirous to mayntaine theyr former credite in bearing out þ Porte of theyr Predecessors, were driuen of necessity as often as whensoever any Leases deuised for terme of yeaeres, by theselues or their Ancestors were thoroughly expyed, & sel into theyr handes, not to let them out agayne for the most part, but as the rents of them were farre racked beyond the old: Pea this rackynge and hoyssing vp of Rentes hath cōtinued euer since þ tyme, vntill this present day: Whereupon the husbandman was necessarily inforced, whereas his rent was now greater then before (and so continueth vnto this day) to sel his Victayles dearer, & to continue the dearth of them: and likewise other artificers withall to maintaine the like proportion in theyr wares, wherefore as this dearth at the fyrst time (as I said before) sprange of the alteration of the coyne, as of his firste and chiefest efficient cause: so doe I attribute the continuance of it hither vnto and so forwarde, partely to the racked and stretched rentes which haue lasted, yea, and increased euer since that time hetherunto, & so are like to continue I knowe



know not how long. Now if we would in these our dayes, haue the olde pēnyworthes generally restored among vs agayne. The restoring of our good Coine, which allredy is past, (& before þ̄ improued rētes would only of it selfe haue been sufāciēt to haue brought this matter to passe,) will not serue in these our dayes, except wall the racked rentes bee pulled downe, which possibly can not be wout the cōmō cōsent of our lāded mē throughout þ̄ whole realme. Another reason I conceiue in this matter to be þ̄ great store & plēty of treasure, which is walking in these parts of þ̄ world far more in these our dayes, thē euer our forefathers haue sene in times past. Who doth not vnderstand of þ̄ infinite sūmes of gold & siluer, which are gathered from þ̄ Indies & other countries, and so yearly transported into these costes? As this is otherwise most certaine, so doth it euidently appeare by the cōmō report of all aūciēt mē liuing in these daies. It is their cōstant report, þ̄ in times past & within þ̄ memory of man, he hath beene accōited a rich & welchp mā & well able to keepe house among his neighbors, which all things discharged, was clearely worth xxx. or xl. li. but in these our daies þ̄ man of þ̄ estimation, is so farre in the cōmō opiniō from a good house-keeper, or man of wealth, þ̄ he is reputed the next neighbor to a begger. Wherefore these ii. reasons seemed vnto me to contain in them sufficient probability for causes of the continuance of this generall dearth.

Pea, but (sir) if the increas of treasure be partly the occasion of this continued dearth: thē by likelyhoode in other our neighbors nations, vnto whom yearly is conuayghed great store of gold and siluer, the pytes of victayles, and other wares in like sorte, raysed according to the increase of their treasure.

It is euen so, and therefore to utter freely mine opini- on (as I accōpt it a matter very hard for the difficulties aboue reherſed to reuoke or call backe agayne all our En-

Knight.

Doctor.

## A brieft Concept

glifh wares vnto their old prices: fo doe I not take it to be eyther profitable or conuenient for the Realme, excepte wee would wifhe that our commodities fhould bee vttered good cheape to ftraungers, and theirs on þ other fide deare vnto vs, which could not be without great impouerifh ng of the Common weale, in a very fhorte time.

Knighte

Now that you haue fo well touched the occafion of this dearth, and what is to be hoped or wifhed of þ lame, fo fully that I am well fatisfied withall: I pray you fhewe me the remedies of thefe great Inclofures, whereof al the realme complaineth of fo much, and hath complained long vpon. For you haue well perfwaded how it is a meane of greate defolation of this realme, and that is longe of þ great profit that men haue by paffure, ouer þ they haue by tillage þ they turne fo much to paffure. Now I woulde fayne heare how it might bee remedied againe: for I haue hearde this matter of long time, & often reasoned vpon aswell in Parliament, as in Coufayles, & yet fmall remedy found there: foze that tooke effect.

Doctor.

If I then, after fo many wife heades as were in thofe Parliaments and Coufayles, would take vpon me to correct (as they fay) Magnificat, & to finde a remedy for this thinge, which they could neuer doe, I might bee reckened very arrogant.

Knight.

Yet tell your phantafie therein, for though you miffe of the right meane to refozme that, it fhall bee no more fhame for yon to doe fo, then it was for fo many wife men as yee fpeake of to miffe.

Doctor.

You fay truth, and fince I fpeak nothing in this part, þ I would haue takē as it were for a law or determined thing, but as a certayne motion for other wife men to cōfider, & to admit or reiect, as to their better reason fhall feeme good: therefore as yee haue boldned me already w your patience to fay thus farre, I will not fpare to declare my minde in  
this



this. But still I must keepe my grounde that I spake of, that is, to trye out the effectuall cause of these inclosures, and then by taking away of the cause to redresse the thinge.

I pray you doe so, for to mee it seemes very reasonable that ye say, and agreeable to that I heard a good Physitian tell mee once, when I was sicke of an ague: when I asked him why he gaue me purgations that made me yet weaker then I was, being weake inough already: saying, hee had more neede to giue me thinges that should make me stronger. Then he answered me that choler was the cause of my sickness, and that hee gaue me those purgations to auoyde this humour, which being the cause of my disease once taken away, the sickness should be ridde from me withall. And therefore I pray you vnto your accustomed order in this matter, and tel the cause of these Inclosures.

Knight.

Sublata causa tollitur effectus.

I shewed you before in our communication in the Garden, the thinges that I thought to be the cause thereof, and partly the remedy of the same.

Doctor.

So did other men among vs tell theyr fante as then, but now we pray you tell which of all those causes ye take for the necessary and efficient cause of this matter.

Knight.

To tel you plaine, it is Avarice the I take for the principall cause thereof: but can we deuise the all couetousnes can be taken from men. No, no more then we can make men to be without wealth, without gladnes, without feare, and without all affections: what then? we must take away from men the occasion of their couetousnes in this part: what is that? the exceeding laker that they se grow by these inclosures more then by their husbandry. And that may be done by any of these two meanes that I will tell you. Either by the diminishing of the laker that men haue by grasping: Or els by aduancing of the profite of husbandry, til it be as good and as profitable to the occupiers as grasping is: for euery man (as Plato saith) is naturally couetous of laker. And wherein they see

Doctor.

How Inclosures may be remedied.

Omnes sunt lucri cupidi.

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most laker, they will most gladly exercise: I shewed you before, that there is more laker by grasing of x. Acres to y occupier alone, then is in y tillage of xx. And y causes thereof be many, one is, y grasing requires small charge & small labor, which in tillage consumes much of y mēs gages, though it be true y the tillage of x. acres brings more gaines generally amonge the maister & all his mainy then the grasing of xx. acres. Another great cause is, that whatsoeuer thing is reared vpon grasing hath free vente both ouer this side & also beyond the sea to be sold at the highest penny. It is contrary of all thinges reared by tillage, for it requires both great charge of seruants & of labor. And also if any good cheape be of corne, it paieth scant for the charge of y tillage. And then if the market doe arise either within y Realme or without, the poore husband shalbe so restrained from selling his corn, y he neuer after shall haue any ioy to set his plough in the ground, which maketh euery mā forsake tillage and fall to grasing which bringeth in all these Inclosures.

Knighte.  
Doctor.

Now what remedy for that?

Pratū quali  
paratum.

May as for y first poynt, that is, touching the vnequal charges of tillage and grasing, that can not be holpen in all pointes, by reason the nature of both reapes the contrary. Therefore the latine tongue calles the one, that is pasture pratum, that is as much to say as, paratum, ready. But the other thinge might be remedied, that the husbandmā might haue as much liberty at all times to set his corn either within the Realme or without, as the grazier hath to sell his, which would make the husbandmen more willing to occupy theyr plough. And other seeing them thurue, would turn theyr pasture to tyllage. And though it enhaunse the market for the time, yet woulde it cause much more tillage to be vsed and consequently more Corne, which in time of plenty within this Realme, might bringe in much treasure: & in time of scarcity woulde suffice for y realme, as I shewed you



ed you before. And thus with laker they should be entysed to occupy the Plough, yea & with other priuileges. I haue red þ in this realme sometime there was such a lawe, as a man that had trespassed the lawe of misaduenture, might haue taken the Plough rayle for his sanctuary. Also þ occupation was had so honourable amonge the Romans, þ one was taken from houlding the plough to bee Consul in Rome, who after his ycare ended, thought no scoyne to resort to þ same seate againe. What occupatiō is so necessary or so profitable for mans life as this is. Or what mystery is so voyd of all craft as the same is: & how litle it is regarded: yea how much is it despised: that many in these daies repute them but as villains, pesaunts, or slaues, by whome þ proudest of thē haue their linings. So þ I maruaile much there is any (seing such a vility & contempt of þ thing) will occupy the feat of husbandry at all: For as honour nourisheth all sciēces, so dishonour must needes decay thē. And therefore if ye will haue husbandry encreased, ye must honoz & cherish it, þ is to let thē haue honest gaines thereby, & since þ gains shall come into poure countrey, why should you be offended thereto. Another way is to abate the comodity of grasing, as when any tax is requisite to be graunted to þ Prince, if lands be chargeable thereto, to charge one aker of pasture as much as two of erable. Or els to burden wolls & fells, & such things as are reared by grasing þ passe to þ partes beyond þ sea untwought, w double tallage ouer any com: rā sported, and by enhaunsing the profite of tillage, and abasing of the profite of grasing, I doubt not but husbandry would be more occupied, and grasing much lesse. And thereby these inclosures to be broken vp. Also there is one thing of old time ordeined in this realme, which being kept vntattered would helpe hereunto also: that is where men are enter cōminers in þ cōmon fields, & also haue their portiōs so termedled one with another, that though they would, they could not enclose any part of þ sayd fields so long as it is so.

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But of late diuers men finding greater profite by grasing then by husbandry, haue founde the meanes either to buy their neighbors partes round aboute them, or els to exchange with them so many acres in this place, for so many in another, whereby they might bringe all theyr landes together, and so inclose it. For the auoiding whereof, I thinke verely that it was so of olde time ordeined, that euery Tenant had his lande not all in one parcell of euery field, but enterlaced with his neighbors landes, so as here should be three acres, and then his neighbour should haue as many, & ouer that, he other iii. or iiii. and so after the like rate be y<sup>e</sup> most partes of the copy holdes that I doe know in this countrey, which I thinke good were still so continued for auoiding of the sayd enclosures. And thus farre as touching y<sup>e</sup> matter.

Marchaunt,

Of Townes  
decayed.

Now that you haue well declared your opinion in these matters of the common dearch and enclosures, I pray you tell vs your minde what should be the occasion of the decay of the good Townes of this realme, & of all Bridges, Highways, and hospitalles, and how the same may be remedied and releued againe. For that these husbandmen & dwellers of the countrey, finde not so great lacke in the fieldes abroad, but Citizens and Burgees finde as much within theyr walles.

Doctor,

Since I haue begon to take vpon me to tell my phantasie in all these things, I will goe through. In mine opinion, y<sup>e</sup> good occupations heretofore vled in the sayd Townes, were occasion of theyr wealth in times past, and the laying down of those occupations againe is the cause of the decay of the same townes. Wherefore if such occupations may be reuyned againe in the same, they would recouer theyr former wealth againe.

Marchaunt,

I beleene that well, that the decay of the occupations was the decay of these townes: but what I pray you was  
the



the occasion of such decay of the occupations.

Doctor.

The occasion  
of the decay o  
our Townes.

I will tell you: while men were contented with such as were made in the market townes next vnto them, then were they of our Townes & Cities well set a worke: as I knowe the time when men were contented with Cappes, Hattes, Gyrdels, and Poyntes, and all manner of garmentes made in the townes next adioyning, whereby the Townes were then well occupied and set a worke, and yet the money payd for the same stufte remayned in the countrey. Now, the poorest younge-man in a countrey can not be content with a leather gyrdle, or leather poyntes, Kniues or Daggers made high home. And specially no Gentleman can be content to haue eyther Cappe, Cote, Dublet, Hose or Shyrte in his countrey, but they must haue this geare come from London, and yet many thinges hereof are not there made, but beyond the sea: whereby the artificers of our good townes are idle, and the occupations in London, and specially of the townes beyond the seaes, are well set a worke euen vpon our costes. Therefore I would wish some stay were deuised for coming of so many trifles from beyond the Sea, and specially of such thinges as might be made here among our selues. or els might bee either all spared or els litle vsed amonge vs: as these drinking and looking glasses, paynted clothes, perfumed gloues, daggers, kniues, pines, pointes, agletes, buttons, and a thousande other thinges of like sorte. As for silkes, wines, and spice, if there came lesse ouer, it made no matter. But specially I would that nothing made of our commodities, as wolles, felles and tinne should be brought from beyond the sea to be solde here, but y all those should be wrought within this realme: were it not better for vs y our owne people were set a worke with such thinges then straungers. I am sure xx. thousand persons might be set a worke within this realme, that are set a worke beyond sea with those thinges that now be made beyond the Sea. and might

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might be made here: (might not the Prince bee glad of any  
ayde, whereby hee might finde £. M. persons through the  
whole yeaere, and burden his treasures with neuer a penny  
thereof?) I think these things might be wrought here not  
onely sufficient to set so many a worke and serue the realme,  
but also to serue other parts, as all kinde of Cloth and Ker-  
sey, Moxsteds, Couerlets, & Carpets of tapestry, Caps,  
knit Sleeues, Hosen, Peticotes, and Pattes: then Paper  
both white and browne, parchment, belam, and all kinde of  
Leather ware, as gloues, poyntes, gyrdles, skins for Jer-  
kins: and of tinnie all maner of vessell, and also all kinde of  
glasse, and earthen pots, tennice balles, cardes, tables and  
chesses, since we will needes haue such things. And Dag-  
gers kniues, hammers, sawes, chesells, axes & such things  
made of yron: might not wee bee ashamed to take all these  
things at straungers hands, & set such a multitude of their  
people a worke as I spake of now, whose finding & wages  
we doe beare now: where all this profit might bee saued  
within the Realme, where it should not goe from vs, but  
returne to vs againe from whence it came. And in settinge  
vp of these occupations, I would haue them most prefer-  
red and cherished, that bring most commodity and trea-  
sure into the countrey: as yee must consider thre sortes of  
occupations: one that carrieth out the treasure, the second  
sort, that as it carrieth none forth of the countrey, so it brin-  
geth none in, but that it getteth it spendeth in the countrey,  
the third bringeth in treasure to the countrey. Of the first  
sorte are Vintners, Billeners, Haberdashers, these galley  
men, Mercers, Rustian Sellers, Grocers, & Pothecaries  
that selleth vs any wares made beyond the Sea, for they  
doe but exhaust the treasure of the Realme. Of the second  
sort are Victuallers, Inholders, Bouchers, Bakers,  
Brewers, Taylors, Cordwinders, Sadlers, Carpen-  
ters, Joyners, Masons, Blacke Smythes, Turners, and  
Woopers



Hooper 3, which like as they conuey no money out of h<sup>e</sup> coun-  
 trey, so they bringe none in: but where as they get it, they  
 spend it. Of the thyrd sort bee these clothiers, cappers, wor-  
 stedmakers, Pewterers, Tanners, which bee all that wee  
 haue of any arte which I can nowe reckon, that brings into  
 the realme any treasure. Therefore these artes are to bee  
 chearished, whereas they be vsed, and where they bee not  
 they would be set by: and also other sciēces moe, as making  
 of glasses, making of Swords, Daggers, Knives, and all  
 tooles of Iron and Steele: also making of pinnes, popets,  
 laces, thred, and all manner of paper, and parchment. I haue  
 heard say that the chiefe trade of Countrey was heretofore  
 in making of blew threde, and then the towne was riche e-  
 uen vpon that trade in manner onely: and now our threde  
 comes all from beyond Sea. Wherefore that trade of Co-  
 untrey is decayed, and thereby the towne likewise. So Brist-  
 ol had a great trade by making of popets, and was the  
 chiefe misterie that was exercised in the towne. And albeit  
 these be but two of the lightest faculties that are, yet were  
 there two great townes chysly maintained by these two fa-  
 culties aboue rehearsed. I heard say in Venice (that most  
 flourishing cite at these daies of al Europe) if they may here  
 of any cunning trades man in any faculty, they will finde  
 the meanes to allure him to dwell in their cite: for it is a  
 wonder to see what a deale of money one good occupier  
 doth bringe into a towne, though he himselfe doth not gaine  
 to his owne commoditie but a poore lyving. As for exam-  
 ple, what money one Worstedmaker brings into h<sup>e</sup> towne  
 where he dwelles, and how many haue lyvings vnder him,  
 & what wealth he brings to h<sup>e</sup> towne where he dwells, truly  
 I can not sufficiently declare: for by a few worstedmakers h<sup>e</sup>  
 same townes they haue are growen to great wealth & ry-  
 ches. So of Clothing and Capping. But where other ci-  
 ties do allure vnto them good workemen, ours will expell  
 them

That arte is to  
 be most chea-  
 rished in a  
 towne that  
 brings most  
 to the towne

Townes are  
 enriched with  
 some one trade

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them out: as I haue known good workemen as well  
Synthes as Weauers, haue comenon from straige par-  
ties to some Cityes within this Realme, intending to set  
vp theyr craftes, and because they were not free there (but  
specially because they were better workemen then we be  
any in the Towne) they coulde not bee suffered to worke  
there. Such incorporations had those Misteries in those  
Townes, that none might worke there in their faculty, ex-  
cept they did compounde with them first.

Capper

And doe you thinke it reasonable that a straunger should  
bee as free in a City or Towne, as they that were pre-  
ntises theretthen no man would bee p[re]ntice to any occupa-  
tion if it were so.

Doctor.

I sayde not that they shall haue commonly lyke liberty  
or Franchise, but as one craft makes but one particuler  
compante of a Towne or City, so I would haue the weale  
of the whole City rather regarded, then the comodity or  
Franchise of one craft or mistery: for though commonly  
none should be admytted there to worke, but such as are free,  
yet when a singuler good workeman in any mistery comes,  
which by his good knowledg might both instructe them  
of the Towne being of the same faculty, and also bringe in-  
to the Towne much comodity beside: I woulde in that  
case haue private Liberties and Priviledges geue place to  
a publique weale, and such a man gladly admittred for his  
excellency to the Freedom of the same Towne, without  
burdening of him with any charge for his first entry or set-  
ting vp. Yea where a Towne is decayed and lackes artifi-  
cers to furnish the Towne with such craftes, as were either  
sometimes exercised well there or might bee, by reason of  
the situation and comodity of the same Towne, I  
woulde haue such craftes menallured out of other places  
where they bee plenty, to come to those Townes decayed to  
dwelle, offering them theyr Freedom, yea theyr house rente  
free,



fure, or some stocke sent them; of the common stocke of such  
 townes: and whē the towne is wel furnished of such Artifi-  
 cers, then to stay the cōming in of Forēners. But while þ  
 towne lackes enhabitauntes of artificers, it were no poli-  
 cy for the restauration of the towne to keepe of any straunge  
 artificers; for the most parte of all townes are mainteyned  
 by craftes men of all sortes, but specially by those þ make  
 any wares to sell out of the countrey, and bynynges therfore  
 treasure into the same. As clothiers, cappers, worstedma-  
 kers, hatmakers, poyntmakers, pinners, painters, found-  
 ers, synthes of all sortes, cutlers, glouers, tanners, parch-  
 ment makers, gyrdlers, pourlers, makers of paper, thred-  
 makers, turners, basket makers, and many other such. As  
 for the mercers, and haberdashers, vintners, and grocers,  
 I cannot see what they doe to a towne, but fynde a liuinge  
 to v. or vi. householdes and in steade thereof empouereish ten  
 times as many. But since men wil needes haue silkes, wines  
 and spice, it is as good that men do spend theyr money vpon  
 such in their owne towne, as to be mynen to seeke the same  
 further. As for þ rest of þ artificers, like as I said before e-  
 nē as they take no money out of þ Countrey so they bynyng  
 none in, as Taylours, Shoemakers, Carpenters, Joyners  
 Cylers, Balons, Bouchers, bittailers, & such like. Also an  
 oþer thinge I reckon woulde helpe much to relieue oure  
 Townes decayed: if they woulde take order that al þ wares  
 made there, should haue a speciall marke, and that marke  
 to be set to none but to such as be truely wrought. And also  
 that euery Artificer dwelling out of all townes (such as cā-  
 not for the commodity of their occupations, be brought to  
 any towne to enhabite, as Fullers, Tanners, and clothiers)  
 should bee limited to bee vnder the direction of one good  
 Towne or other, and they to sell no ware but such as are  
 first approued and sealed by the Towne that they are ly-  
 mited vnto. And by these two meanes, that is to say, fyste  
 by

## A brieft Concept

by staying of wares wrought beyond sea, which might be wrought within us, from coming in to be sold. Secondly by restraining of our wolles, tyme, selles, & other commodities from passing ouer vnwrought. And thirdly by bynning in (vnder the correctiō of good townes) artificers dwelling in the countreies: making wares to be sole outward, & these wares to be brewed and sealed by the towne scale before they shoulde bee solde. I woulde thynke oure Townes myght be soone restored to theyr auncyent wealth or farre bettered if they would follow this.

Knight.

Now wee pray you go to the last matter ye spake of, how these diuersities of opinions may be takē away, which troubles the people very sore, and makes great sedition and deuision among them, and in maner makes debate betwene neighbour & neighbour, the Father and his Son, & Man and his Wyfe, which is yet more to bee feared, then all other the foresayd losses of worldly goods. For if wee were neuer so pooze, and did neuerthelesse agree amonge our selues, wee shoulde lycke our selues hoale againe in short space.

Doctor.

Concordia  
quę res  
crescunt  
discordia  
maximę di-  
labuntur.

Yee say truth: with coucord weake things do encrease & waxe big. And contrarywise with discorde strong thinges waxe weake. And it must needes be true that truth it selfe sayth. Euery kingdome deuided in it selfe shal bee desolate. Wherefore I cannot forbear to shewe you my pooze opinion, how so great a mischief as this is, may bee auoyded out of this our common Weale: & stil I will vse one trade, as in seeking out the orygynall cause, and by takinge awaye of that, to shew the remedye. I take the chiefe cause hereof aswel the sinnes of thē that be the ministers of Christs holy word and misteries, as of you that bee the flocke. And first of ours that haue smarued altogether, frō their due course order, and profession to all kinde of liberalty, not onely to the



the basenes of lay men, but far inferiour to them in pride, couetousnes, and such. Wherefore yee lay men seeing in vs no excellency in our maners in deede, thinke vs unworthy to bee your Leaders and Pastors, or to whose doctryne yee shoulde giue credence, whome yee see in lyuing far discrepant fro the same. And therefore ye take vpon you y<sup>e</sup> iudgment of spirituall thinges, to whom it doth not appertain. As one inconuenience draweth euer another after him, so long as the ministers of the church were of those maners & conuersation agreeable with theyr doctryne: So long all men, yea the greatest prynces of the worlde and the wyldest men wer content to beleue our doctryne, & to obey vs in thinges concerning y<sup>e</sup> soule: and since we fel fro the perfectiō of life, we grew out of credit, & the holy doctryne of Chyyst suffered flaunder by our sinfull lyuing. So we haue giuen the synne occasion of this euil, & yee haue taken it as an instrumēt to worke this synne withal. And though both do euil therin, yet the remedy ought to begin at the roote of this mischief, which I take to bee in the ministers & pastors spirituall. And to be playne with you, and no more to dissemble oure owne faultes, then I haue done yours, except wee reforme our selues fyrst, I can haue no great trust to see this generall synne and deuision in religion better taken away: it may percase, with authority be for a tyme appeased, but neuer so as it spryngs not againe, except wee reforme oure selues fyrst.

The occasiō of the synne in matters of religion.

Mary and I thinke yee haue ben wel disciplined & corrected already, so as yet had good cause to bee reformed, as by taking much of your possessions from you, and in burdeninge of your benefices with subsidies, as well annuall, as proportional, and other wayes. What other reformation would yee haue more.

Knight

Yea no doubtte wee haue had beatinge enough if that would haue serued, but some maisters w<sup>th</sup> litle beating will

Doctor.

## A brieft Conceipt

each the other better the other with more stripes & doe: and againe some schollers will be reformed with lesse beating then other. So you and we bee now, you in beating enough but little teaching, and we againe little regarding y<sup>e</sup> stripes doe learne as little. For notwithstanding these punishments that we haue had, the reproches and reuilinge and opening of our faultes, see how many of vs haue reformed our selues, yea so much as in our outward offices, whereunto we are bound both by gods lawe, and our canons lawes, and decrees: how many more of vs haue resorted to our benefices to be resident thereon, which not onely by the sayd lawes, but also vpon greate penalties wee are bounde vnto by the lawes of this Realme. Now many lesse now then before haue studied to heape Benefice vpon Benefice, when wee bee scarce able to discharge one of them: what better triall or examination is there nowe in admitting of ministers of the church: What more exacte searche is made by our Bishops, for worthy men to be admitted to the cure of soules: What better execution of our canons and decrees doe our Bishoppes, Deanes, and Archdeacons in their diocessons now, then they did before: What better hospitalitie, residence, or ministration eyther of the word, or of the other duties, doe our prelates and Bishops now then they did before: doe they not lurke in theyr manors & manour places far from theyr cathedral churches as they were wont, and scant once a yeare will see their principall church, where they ought to be continually resident: be they not in a manner as bumblebees for preaching the word of God as euer they were, for all these plagues that God sendes to the: But they are so blinded that they cannot see wherefore they be thus punished, & constraine to be for other causes, as by the couetousnes of lay men in desiringe theyr possessions, by a battered conduct agaynst them, for not obteyning theyr purpose at men of the Churches



ches hand. Or for that they cannot abyde the correction of  
the church, or such other causes as they imagine with the  
selues. And thinke that the indignation against them shortly  
will slake of it selfe. But I pray God it doe not rather  
encrease, as I feare me it will, except we amend vs the ra-  
ther. How can men be content to pay tenth of theyr goods  
which they gette with theyr sore labour and sweate of theyr  
browes, when they can not haue for it againe neither ghost-  
ly comforte nor bodily: what layman will be any thing scru-  
pulous to keepe thost tythes in his owne handes, when hee  
sees vs doe nothing more then hee for it: what credite will  
any man giue to our doctrine, whom they see so right in  
lyuing: what reuerence will they giue our persones in  
whole manners they see no gravity. But to passe fro these  
matters to others. There be most godly ordynances made  
by our lawes by auctority of Counsailes generally, that  
all Archdeacons should visite in person yearely theyr pre-  
cinctes. The Bishop euery three yeares to see his whole Di-  
ocese what is to be reformed either priuately or general-  
ly, that priuate faultes might be reformed forthwith, and  
the generall at the next Synode, and therefore they haue  
theyr procurations. Visite they doe not in person as they  
ought to doe, but by deputies, more for theyr procurations  
then for any reformation. The money is surely gatherer,  
but the cause wherefore it was geuen nothinge kept: the sti-  
pend is exacted, and the worke wherefore it was due, vndo.  
There is there another good ordynance and godly, abolished  
after the like sorte: where euery bishop should yereley keepe  
a synode in his diocese of all euangelicall persons, and euery  
archbishop a synod for his whole prouince euery thyrde yere,  
that if any thinge occurred in the diocese worthy reformati-  
on, it might be referred to the prouinciall congregation, if  
it were either doubtful to the bishop, or could not be refo-  
rmed without greater auctority then the Bishoppes alone.

Whereby

# A brieft Concept

Where bee these synodes now kept: yet they receiue euery  
 yere theire synodals of þ poore priests: of such good ordenā-  
 ce & godlythere is nothing kept: but þ which is their owne  
 priuat comodity, which be þ procuraciōs & synodals: þ other  
 part wherefore þ charge was laid is omitted, the burde re-  
 maineth, & the duty is takē away: yet better it were þ both þ  
 one & þ other were takē away, thē to haue þ good parte ta-  
 ken & the woyle to remaine. If they will say, þ there needeth  
 nowe a daies no such visitation nor synods, then there need-  
 ed neuer none of them, for moe thinges to bee reformed a-  
 mong vs were neuer then be now, nor reformation neuer  
 more necessary. But our prelats would say they dare make  
 no lawes in such synods for feare of penurye. what neede a-  
 ny mo lawes made then they haue already: what should let  
 them to put these in execution that be already made: speci-  
 ally since they haue the aide of the reimpetall lawes thereto.  
 are there not statutes made in parliament for residence, and  
 for restrayning of pluralitie of benefices: which had neuer  
 neede to haue ben made, if wee would haue put our lawes  
 in execution. Are not we worthy to haue other men to cor-  
 recte and reforme vs, when we can not reforme our selues:  
 Is it maruaille that wee bee out of credence when our  
 life and conuersation is contrary to oure owne lawes and  
 profession, and that the religion of them suffereth slander  
 offence, & reproche, which througħ our defaults shalbe once  
 required of our hands. Therefore if we will haue this scisme  
 takē away frō christes church, let vs first reforme our selues  
 & put our lawes in executiō, as in reforming to our benefices  
 to keepe residence, and in contentyng our selues wth one  
 Benefice a piece, and wth the lyvinge that is appointed  
 to vs for our ministratiō, without deuiling of other extra-  
 ordinary & unlawfull gaines. For what is more agreeable  
 wth reason, then a man to spende his tyme where he hath  
 his lyuing, and to do his office for that he hath þ benefice of:

And



And seeing every benefice is a mans living, & if it be not it might be amended til it be a competent living, and every one requireth one mans whole charge. What reason is it that one man should haue two mens livinges & two mens charge, where he is able to discharge but one? That he haue more & discharge the cure of neuer a one is to farre agaynst reason. But some percase will say, there be some of vs worthy a greater preferment then other, & one benefice were to litle for such a one. Is there not as many degrees, in the variety of benefices as there is in mens qualities? Yes forsooth there is yet in this realme (thanked be God) benefices from 50. markes to 100. markes a peare of sundry values to endow every man with, after his qualitics and degree. And if a meane benefice happen to fall, let every man be contented therewith til a better fall. And if he be thought worthy of a better, let him leaue the first and take y<sup>e</sup> better, for the meanest Benefice is a sufficient livinge for some man, which should be destitute of a living, if that benefice and other like should be heaped by together in great mens hands. Yea I doe knowe, y<sup>e</sup> men which haue such meane benefices be more commonly resident, and keepe better hospitality on the same, then they that haue greater benefices. It is a common prouerbe. Its meary in Hall Whan Beardes wags all. Nowe looke throughe a whole Diocesse, you shall not finde 100. persons resident that may dispende xl. l. a piece, nor for al the benefices in a Diocesse, the fourth person resident ouer the same. What temperal office is so far abused as these be that be spirituall and of greater charge: I pray God send our Prelats Eyes to see these Enormities: for it shoulde seeme that they are so blinded that they cannot see them. And then I doubt not but all delayes set a part they will reforme them: and if they do not, I pray God send our Maiestrats temperall the minde to reforme these thinges with their secular power. And to study for the reformation

Propter of.  
fimum da-  
tur benefi-  
cium.

D.

of them,

# A brieſe Concept

of them, rather then for theiꝝ poſſeſſions, Chriſtian Prin-  
ces beare not their ſwords in vayne: nor yet is it ſo ſtraunge  
a thing to ſee Chriſtian princes reforme the Prelates that  
ſwarue from their duties. Thus far be it ſpoken touching  
the reformation of them þe myniſters of þe Church. Now  
to ſpeake of þis to be reformed of our parte that bee of the  
lapye, yee muſt vnderſtand, that al þe geue the ſelues to the  
knowledge of any faculty, are commonly ſubiect to eyther  
of two vices (as that great clarke Tully doth report) þe one  
is to take theſe things þe we knowe not for things knowne,  
or as though we knewe them: for a boyding of which fault  
men ought to take both good ſpace, and great diligence in  
conſideration of things, ere they come to geue iudgement  
of the ſame: the other vice to beſtowe too great a ſtudy and  
labour about obſcure and hard thinges nothing neceſſary.  
Let vs now conſider and theſe faults be not among you at  
theſe dayes, ye be all now ſtudious to knowe the vnderſtan-  
ding of holy ſcripture. And well, for there can be no better  
deſire, more honeſt, nor more neceſſary for any chriſtian mā:  
but yet doe yee not ſee many younge men befoze they haue  
either taken any longe time, or any good diligence in the  
conſideration or ſtudy of ſcripture, take vpon the to iudge  
of high matters being in controuerſie, geueing to quicke  
aſſent eyther to their owne inuention, or to other mens: be-  
foze they haue conſidered what might be ſayd to the contra-  
ry. And this fault is not onely ſcene in men ſtudious of the  
knowledge of ſcripture, but alſo in younge ſtudents of all  
other ſciences: ſhall ye not finde a ſtudent in the lawe of the  
realme, after he hath bene at the ſtudy of þe lawe not paſt iii.  
yeares, more ready to aſſoyle you a doubtfull caule of the  
lawe, then either he himſelfe or another, after þe hath ſtu-  
died the lawe xii. or xiiii. yeares. Yea no doubt, ſo it is in a  
younge Gramarian, Logician, Rethoritian, & ſo of al other  
ſciences. Therefore Pythagoras forbad his Schollers to  
ſpeake

Cicero de  
offi. Lib. i.

The faultes in  
the part of the  
duty.



Speake the firste yeares þ they came to him, which lesson  
 I would to God yee would be content to obserue, before yee  
 gaue any iudgement in matters of holy scripture. And the  
 I doubt not, but after vii. yeares reading, ye would by col-  
 lation of one place with another of scripture, finde a grea-  
 ter difficulty therein, then yee doe now, & bee more scrupu-  
 lous to geue an answer in high thinges then yee be now:  
 and this harme cometh of rathe iudgement in þ part, that  
 when a man hath once vttered his opinion in any thinge, he  
 wil thinke it a great shame for him to bee brought from þ  
 he hath once affirmed for truth. Therefore what so euer he  
 readeth after he construetþ for the mayntenaunce of his o-  
 pinion, yea and wil force that side not onely with his wordes  
 and perswasions, but also with that powre and authoritie þ  
 he hath, and will labour to bring other to the same opinion  
 as many as he can, as though his Opinion shoulde bee the  
 more true, the more fauourers that he may get of þ same. By  
 such meanes if we seeke but for the truth, that is not to bee  
 iudged to be alwayes on the best side þ getteth þ ouer hand  
 by power, authoritie, or Suffrages extorted: it is not like  
 in the disceptacion, & inquisition of the truth, as it is in a  
 fight or a wrestling: for he that hath the ouer hand in these  
 thinges hath the victorie, and in the other hee that is some-  
 times put to silence, or otherwise banquished in the sighte  
 of the worlde, hath the victorie and conquest of truth, on his  
 side. Since wee contend but for the knowledge of the truth  
 what shoulde wee deuide our selues into factions and par-  
 ties: but let the matter be quietly discusse, tryed, and exa-  
 mined, by men to whom the iudgement of such thinges ap-  
 pertyneth. And prouide in the meane time that neyther  
 party do vse any violence agaynst the other to bringe them  
 by force to this or that side, untill the whole or most part of  
 the to whom þ disculsion of such thinges appertyneth vnto,  
 doe freely.

As Constantine the  
 great, did in  
 the time of  
 Arius.

## A brieft Concept

doe freely consent and determine the matter. That is the onely way to descide such controuersies, and since this concencion must once haue an ende: it were better take an ende be times then too late, when percase more harme shal haue ensued of this dangerous Scisme, as hath already done in other parties euen before our Eyes. And in like thinges hath before this time bene seene, of such sort as it is too lamentable to bee remembred. what losse of Christian men: what diminishing of the Christian sayth: what continuall warres, hath the Faction of the Arrians bene the occasion of: did it not seporate and seuer at length all Asia, and Africke from the Christian sayth: Is not the Religion, or rather the wicked supersticion of the Turke grafted ouer this Arrian Sect: did it not take his foundation thereof: As there is no dyuision more dangerous, then that which groweth of matters in Religion: so it were most expedient and necessary to bee quikely remedied, which cannot bee done by any other way then by a free and generall counsel, that hath bene alwayes from the time of the Apostles who first tooke that remedy (euen to their dayes) the onely way to quiet and appease all controuersies in religion. And no doubt the holy Ghost, as his promise is, will be presente in e- uery such assembly, that is gathered together by no force or labor of any affection. But now wee will say, though we would for our partes set aside parciality, and be indifferent and vse no coercion to get numbers & voyces that shoulde fauour our partes, who can promise that the Bysshoppe of Rome and other Prelates would doe the same. Surely if yee did say so, yee sayd a great matter, for they be men & much more subiect to affections then yee be. But I shal be bolde after my manner to tell my minde hereto as well as in other thinges: I take all these matters that be now a dayes in controuersie to be of one of these sortes, that is either touching the profits and emolumentes of the Prelates & Ministers of the

How this  
scisme might  
be remedied.



of the church, or touching pointes of religion. As touching those articles that cōcerne religion, I would wishe þ they had onely the disculcion thereof, which ought and haue v- sed alwayes to haue the iudgement of the same, & as touch- ing the articles that concerne the profits of Ecclesiasticall persons, I would haue these left to the disculcion of the se- culer powers, because it concerneth secular thinges onely: where no man neede mistrust, but that þ Maiestates will prouide an honorable liuing for that kinde of men that ser- ueth so honorable a rōme as þ ministracion of Gods holy word and his Sacraments. Furthermore I would wishe in thinges touching þ byshop of Rome & his iurisdiction, þ he should be let a part, & some other indifferēt persons cho- sen, by christian Princes to direct or be Presidents in the Counsayle while his matter is in handlinge, (if it please Christian Princes to houlde a counsayle with that Whore of Babylon) for no man is meete to be a Iudge in his owne cause. Here I haue but briezly touched þ summes of thinges after my simple phātasie, referringe the alowing or reiec- ting of all or some of them to your better iudgement.

The Bishop of Rome is no in- different man.

I am sorry that it is so late that wee must needes depart Knight.  
nowe.

And so bee wee in good sayth; but wee trust ere you de- parte the towne to haue some communication wth you a- gayne.

Marchaunt,  
Husband,  
& Capper.  
Doctor.

I will bee glad if I tarry in the towne. But as yet tru- ly I knowe not whether I shall remaine here beyonde too morow morning, which if I doe in any thing þ my simple iudgement will reach vnto you, you shall heare my farther opinion: in the meane time I pray you so to thinke of mee as of one that if I haue spoken any thing which may bee preiudiciall to the commonweale any way, I am ready to reuoke it, and to yeelde to the iudgement of any o- her man, that cā shew how all these griefes, or the more part of the,

# A briefe Conceipt

may bee remedied by any other better meanes, for I knowe  
of many a thousande in this lande, I may worlde speake in  
such a waggish matter. And so here for this presence I  
take my leave of you all.

**Knight.**

And thus wee departed for that time: but on the mor-  
rowe when I knewe Maister Doctor was gone one of the  
citizens, I thought not meete this communication should bee  
lost, but rememberd at y least in mine owne private booke,  
to the intent as opportunity should serue, I might bringe  
forth some of his Reasons in places where they might  
either take place, or be answered otherwise then I  
could. And therefore I haue noted the sayd  
communication briefly of this sort

The Bishop of  
Rome in his  
differences with  
the Bishop of  
London

as you see.

**FINIS.**

**Knight.**

Merchant  
Husband  
of Capten  
Doctor

And so the end is made in good faith. but were there any more  
to be said in this matter, I should haue said more.

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mas Marthe.



